ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ LIBRI SEPTEM.

SEVEN BOOKS OF THE ATTICK ANTIQUITIES,

CONTAINING

The Deſcription of the City's Glory, Government, diviſion of the People, and Towns within the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superſtition, Sacrifices, Account of their Year, a full relation of their Judicatories.

By *FRANCIS ROUS*, Scholar of *Merton* College in *OXON.*

With an Addition of their Cuſtoms in Marriages, Burials, Feaſtings, Divinations, &c. in the four laſt Books.

By *ZACHARY BOGAN*, Scholar of C. C. C. in *OXON.*

The Ninth Edition Corrected and Enlarged, With a twofold Index, *Rerum & Vocabulorum.*

Περιτειληφότι τὰς ἀκοὰς, ἐπιχύμεθα, μεῖζον ἔχοντες ἔχον, ὃ, τι φυλαξόμεθα ἢ ὅτῳ χησόμεθα, εὑρεῖν. Ariſt.

LONDON,
Printed by *Miles Fleſher*, for *Richard Davis*, and to be ſold by *Henry Clements*, Bookſeller in *Oxford*, MDCLXXXV.

TO

The RIGHT WORSHIPFULL Sir *NATHANIEL BRENT*, Kt,

Vicar General, and the moſt vigilant Warden of *Merton* College in *OXFORD*, Health, &c.

IT is the cuſtome of moſt, to impoſe a patronage of their errours upon ſome eminent perſon. But it ſhall be my ambition in this my Dedication to manifeſt my obſervancy. Others make their choice of potent men, thereby to ſhun the darts of envy: it ſhall be my glory to be thought worthy of invidency; whoſe ignorance is not ſo great, but well knows that ever ſome will bite in ſecret; and ſcourge theſe errours of my youth with private reproaches. But ſuch malignant tongues I will counterpoiſe with the wind, and ſet as lightly by as they are vain. And although I am confidently perſwaded that the covert of your wings be ſufficiently

ently able to ſhelter my faults; yet had I rather to expreſs my duty towards you in theſe naked infirmities, whoſe goodneſs truly knows how * to pardon the bold adventures of Learning. I preſent you therefore with Athens, whoſe deplorable raggedneſs my Papers well reſemble: which may challenge this excuſe, that they aſſimilate themſelves to the Treatiſe in them contained; which of all men, I my ſelf am conſcious moſt unfitly to have handled. That City, once the † nurſe of reaſon, * which flouriſh'd in eloquence, and brave atchievements more than all Greece, could not, unleſs in her miſerable ruines, have without her diſgrace been ſpoken of by me. That Athens whence the learned Fathers of the Church ſuckt rare literature, Baſil his eloquence, Nazianzene his ſtrength, and others their flowing Oratory: That Athens which who had not ſeen is by † Lyſippus accounted a block. Accept, honoured Sir, theſe Reliques of that famous Univerſity, though by me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity, by you well eſteemed of, though among moſt of theſe our days accounted dirt; whoſe labour it is to ſeek new faſhions, and like nought, but what may be accoun-

* Auſis literarum ignoſcere. *Vegerius* in Prolog.

† *Cic.* Epiſt.
* *Patercul.* in fine Lib. 1.

† Apud Dicæarchum
Εἰ μὴ πεδίαν τὴν Ἀθηναίων πᾶς ἂν ἐλεγχθεὶς ἦν.

accounted novelty. Reſembling the brute, of which Cicero, Ad id ſolum quod adeſt, quódque præſens eſt ſe accommodat, paulum admodum ſentiens præteritum, &c. *never caring for what is paſt. But you weigh well the excellency of talking with thoſe Champions of Learning, hundreds of years ſince gathered to their former duſt, by whoſe penſils we ſee drawn the lively images of deceaſed Monarchs, the forms of Government, and very lives of States. Out of which patterns, if you pleaſe to deem the leaſt part of this to have been taken, it ſhall heap to my joy that the following Tract will not ſeem a ſpurious and degenerate off-ſpring. Upon preſumption of which I fear not, as the Eagles do their young, to expoſe my brood to the rays of the open Sun. Thus with continual wiſhes for addition to your happineſs, I take leave. From my Study in* Merton *College*, Jun. 9. 1637.

Your Worſhip's in all humility

to be commanded

F. ROUS.

TO

TO
The Reader.

IT is not a thirſt of empty glory that makes me run the hazard of your cenſure, but a conſideration of the weakneſs of School-Maſters, who undertake to reade the Greek Oratours to raw Scholars, themſelves being not ripe in the *Attick* Cuſtoms. I have therefore ſo far endeavoured as you ſee. If any thing may afford a ſcruple to any, he ſhall engage me that will require ſatisfaction. If any thing ſeem amiſs, it ſhall be taken by me as a favour to hear of it from any. For I am not of thoſe whoſe ears are ſtopt, when their errours are told them. If this pleaſe, it ſhall add ſpurs to the finiſhing of this courſe intended, and as occaſion may give leave, you ſhall have the reſt that may be ſpoken.

Yours

F. R.

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ARCHÆ-

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ.

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAP. I.

Javan, Jas, Jaones, Jonia. Ἀθηνὰ, Ἀκταία, Ἀκτὴ. *Athenæ in acta, Cecropiæ, Cranaæ. Atthis, Attica, Athenæ ſub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni. Plutarchi ea de re ſententia. Alii ſub Erechtheo volunt nominari, Juſtinus ſub Amphictyone. Salenos, Selines, Satina, Sethina.*

BY the Sons of *Noah* [a] were the Iſles of the Gentiles divided in their Lands, every one after his Tongue; when by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to Heaven, thinking to leave a name to Poſterity, by building Caſtles in the Air. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a *ſcattering abroad* upon the face of the earth: he having ſpoken it, whoſe breath alone affords a fair wind: hoiſt then they muſt their Sails, and bidding adieu to the plain in the Land of *Shinar*, ſeek out ſome new habitation. Travellers they were of yore, and yet ſtill muſt journey. Each one in as different a courſe, as of a divers Language. The Sons of *Shem* their way, the Sons of *Japhet* theirs, *Gomer* and *Magog*, and *Madai*, and *Javan*, with whom I purpoſe one furlong to keep company, leaving the reſt on one ſide or other, or behind, looking onely to my propoſed ſcope. [b] Ἀπὸ δ' Ἰάονος Ἰάονες, l. 1. c. 7. p. 13. ἧς πόλ-

[a] Gen. 10. 5.

[b] Joſeph. *Antiq.*

καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες γεγόνασι, *From Javan came Jonia and all the Greeks.* And in Scripture we have *Javan* put for *Greece*; in *Daniel* twice, [c] *And when I am gone forth, loe the Prince of Grecia ſhall come.* And again, [d] *He ſhall ſtir up all againſt the Realm of Grecia.* Where although the old Tranſlation renders it not *Javan*, yet it is found in the Original. He then coming into the Countrey, called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was termed *Jonia* and *Jas*, ἡ δ' Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο, *for Attica was anciently called Jonia and Jas.* In which words we ſtill retain ſome relicks of the *Radix*, notwithſtanding the ſmall difference of the termination. But if we pleaſe to view after what title the *Sons of Javan* were ſtyled *Jaones*, we ſhall come nearer home.

[c] Dan. 10. 20.

[d] Cap. 11. 2.

[*] Strabo. *l.* 9. *p.* 392. [*] *Strabo* in the above quoted place, Ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ὅταν φῇ,

——Ἔνθάδε Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες ——

τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγει. *Homer*, when he ſays, *There the Bœotians and Jaones*, ſpeaks of the *Athenians*. The Scholiaſt of *Æſchylus* on theſe words,

[f] Ἰάονων γὰρ οὐχέλαι πέρσαι στόλον.

[f] *In Perſis. p.* 133. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι Ἰάονες εἰσὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγονται ἐκ τινος Ἴωνος βασιλέως αὐτῶν, *It is to be underſtood*, quoth he, *that the Athenians are termed Jaones, from one Jaon* (he means *Javan*) *that was their King.* Neither is it ſtrange that the *vau* or *ypſilon* is left out; for though it be not written, yet perſwaded I am, that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* Diphthongs were. For the antique Latins and the Greeks ſpake it as broad, as if it had been *Theſaros*, not *Theſauros*. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is of opinion, *That Aſia the leſs had people before Greece had any, and that Javan did not flie from Babylonia into Greece, but took Aſia the leſs in his paſſage, and from thence paſt over the neareſt way, leaving his own name to ſome maritimate Province on that ſide, as he did to that part ſo called.* In which, although the authority of ſo worthy and judicious a man might move much, yet it ſhall be ſufficient for me, onely to go ſo far, as antiquity will bear me out, [h] *Thucydides* reports, that it is manifeſt that all *Greece* was not βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, *firmly inhabited*, but that there were continual Pilgrimages, or Removings of the Inhabitants, forſaking their former places, being driven out by

[ε] Donat. *in* Ter. *p.* 133.

[h] *Lib.* 1. *p.* 2.

by a ſtronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was no ſafe traffick or commerce by Sea or Land, each manured his Grounds to have Provent alone to ſerve for preſent neceſſity, deſiring no more than from hand to mouth; it being uncertain how ſoon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their ſeats, not taking grievous that ſharp charge, *Veteres migrate coloni*, *Be gone ye ancient Bores.* But the more fertil Soil had hard bickrings. *Theſſalia*, *Bœotia*, and a great part of *Peloponneſus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled, [i] Τὴν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν, ὅτι τὸ ἐπιπολαῖον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγαιον ἀστασίαστον ἦν, ἀνθρώπους ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεί, *But Attica by reaſon of the thinneſs or barrenneſs of the ground, was always inhabited by the ſame men* (none it ſeems being willing to leave his better for a worſe) *not affording fuel to contention.* Out of which peace ſprung up ſo great a multitude, that *Attica*, even now ſwarming, and, οὐκ ἰκανὴ θρέψαι, *not able to contain and feed ſo many*, is conſtrained to ſend forth Colonies into *Ionia*, a region of *Aſia* the leſs, which is reported by the *Greeks* to borrow denomination from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*; or, as the Poets ſay, *Apollo* and *Creuſa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be, [k] Κτίσσας Ἀσιάδ' ἄλσος, *The maker or founder of Aſia.* The Mother *Ionia* (for ſo I pleaſe to ſay) kept not ſtill her former name; For in proceſs of time ſhe owned *Actæa*, from *Actæon*, as [l] *Strabo* ſays, or from *Actæus*, according to [m] *Pauſanias*, who was the firſt King thereof, by [n] *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*, called *Actæus*. But [o] *Dion Chryſoſtom* brings a more natural reaſon than this, why it was *Actæa*: *Acta* ſignifies a *ſhore*, both in the *Greek* and [p] *Latin* ſpeech. Now becauſe all of it within a little was waſhed with the Sea, and [q] ἀλιτενὴς, it might challenge unto it ſelf *Actæa*. *Dion.* διεῤῥῶγέ τε ὀλίγα πάντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦτο λαβεῖν οἱ ἀκτὴν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν. Hence Ακτὴ by the *Ænigmatical Poet* in his [r] *Caſſandra* is put for this Country. *Tzetzes*, *Becauſe it is (Acta) a cliff, that is caſt and lying in the Sea.* And *Athens* herſelf by *Plautus* is ſaid, *Athenæ in Acta, pro Athenis Atticis*, as † *Palermius* hath noted. But this grew old after a ſeaſon, and *Cecrops* having married the Daughter of

[i] Thucid.

[k] *In* Ione *Tr.* 2. *p.* 619.

[l] *Lib.* 9. *p.* 397.

[m] *In* Att. *p.* 2.

[n] *Pag.* 23.

[o] *Orat.* 6.

[p] Virg. *Æn.* 5. *p.* 213.

[q] Strabo *l.* 9. *p.* 391.

[r] *Pag.* 22.

† *In Spicilegiis.*

Actæus, glories in his *Cecropia* (and *Athena Cecropia*, and *Cecropis Civitas*, and after that *Cranaæ*, from *Cranaus* the King that ſucceeded him) This *Cranaus* among other of his Daughters, had one [t] *Atthis*, from whom alſo was derived *Atthis* and *Attica*, next *Poſidonia* and *Minerva*, from *Neptune* and *Pallas*. In this region ſtood *Athens*, *Queen of Greece*, ſo called from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when *Cecrops* moved with a Prodigy of a ſudden ſhooting up of an Olive, and bubling forth of a ſalt Spring in the *Acropolis*, conſulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one did ſignifie *Neptune*, and the other *Minerva*; taking therefore the men into ſuffrages for *Neptune*, and the women for *Minerva*, who had moſt voices ſhould carry it. The females being more, the Goddeſs bore away the Bell. Lo here a witty Devil to bring in [v] ἐπιχωρίους θεούς, *Gods of his own making*, to infold the ſuperſtitious in an ignorant zeal. However let us leave the ſhadow of poetical fictions, and take the true draught out of *Mythology*. [x] *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient Kings, ſtriving to draw away their Subjects from ſeafaring negotiations and a deſire to live by ſailing, unto tillage and manuring of ground, gave occaſion of the ſpeech that *Neptune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the City. Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ, &c. *Neptune* is put for the Sea, and buſineſſes thereof; *Minerva* for Arts and ingenious kind of life, nay ſays *Ovid* in his Calendar, *Mille Dea eſt Operum, She is Goddeſs of a thouſand Trades*. Others ſay that the City was conſecrated to her by *Amphyction*, *& nomen Civitati Athenas dedit*. [y] *Juſtin*. Others in the time of *Erectheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this name given. Which Authour [z] *Marcianus Heracleota* doth follow, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος Ἐρεχθέως ὁ πόλεως ἡγεμὼν καὶ ὁ Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν θεσμοφορίαν καλεῖν. This was that *Erectheus*, who in a time of drought over all the world except *Ægypt*, brought Corn to *Athens*, and taught the *Eleuſinian Myſteries*. Beholding this City hath been to *Ægypt* for other Kings; to wit, [a] *Cecrops* and *Mereſtheus*; for his Father *Petes* was an *Ægyptian*. In the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, and before him it was a received opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the *Ægyp-*

t Strabo & Pauſ. locis præd.

v Varro *apud* Auguſt. *l.* 18. *c.* 9. *de civit. Dei.*

x *In* Them. *p.* 87. *l.* 23.

y *Lib.* 2.

z ἐν ἐπιτομῇ ἱστοριῶν.

a Ariſtoph. *ſch. pag.* 79. Tzetz. *in* Lycoph. *p.* 23.

Ægyptians. *Sais* in that tongue anſwering to *Athenæ* in *Greek*, as *Tzetzes* out of *Carax*. Nay that they ſhould be of the inhabitants of *Sais*, they argue from this, Becauſe that the *Saitæ* and *Athenians* have divers cuſtoms alike. Witneſs *Diodorus Siculus*. But it pleaſes not me. I conjecture that firſt it was called *Athens*, when the people came more ſeriouſly to addict themſelves to civil Government, and ſtudy of good Literature; knowledge and art being aſcribed to *Minerva*, τῆ δ' Ἀθηνᾷ τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ſays [b] *Ariſtotle*. Nay her Name being derived from thence, [b] *Polit. l. 8. c. 9.* נתן *Thena* in the *Chaldee* tongue ſignifying to *ſtudy* or *learn*: from which comes *Thena*, and with an article *Hatthena*, as [c] *Heinſius* the moſt learned. As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan*, from *Ana* the number of three, which notes eternity, and ſo from *Hat-het-ana*, *Athena*. Becauſe wiſedom doth contain Eternity, let us ſend it back into *Germany*. Lo now *Athens* named from learning, which was once the [d] *ſhop of letters* and the Muſes, whereof it is now deplorably deſtitute, having loſt the glory of former *Athens*, nay the name it ſelf. For if we believe ſome, they tell us that now it is *Salenos* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not; becauſe that I have read *Selines* for *Megara*, called *Niſæa*, which is not many miles from *Athens*. Farthermore in diſcourſe with a native of *Peloponneſus*, who lived many years in that City, I had no other appellation from him than *Athenæ*, which others write *Satina* corrupted, as *Portus* and *Meurſius* truly think, for εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς. Nay * *Hugo Favolius* who was there himſelf, even to the ſame purpoſe, names it *Sethina*.

[c] *In* Ariſtar. *Sac. Sym.* 1. *pag.* 27.

[d] Iſidor.

* *In Hodœp. Byz. l.* 3.

Undique ſic miſeræ nobis ſpectantur Athenæ,
Dædala quas Pallas ſeſe coluiſſe negaret,
Quas, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mœnia dicas,
Indigenæ Sethina vocant.——

We wretched *Athens* round do view, which now,
Though once ingenious *Pallas* lov'd, her ſhame,
And t'have been thine, *Neptune*, would'ſt diſavow,
To which the home-bred give *Sethina* name.

CAP. II.

Athenarum ſitus. Ἄστυ. Πόλις. Ἀκρόπολις. *Herbæ lucentes. Murus, Pelaſgicus & Cimonius, Propylæa. Circuitus veteris Urbis, & novæ,* ἡ ἄνω & κάτω πόλις. *Pireæi brachia. Murus Phalericus. Portæ. Aer. Laus paſſim apud ſcriptores. Cephiſſus Fluvius.*

GReece, ſays [a] *Ariſtides*, is placed in the midſt of the whole Earth; and in the midſt of it ſtands *Attica*; the navel whereof is *Athens*, by which all *Greece*, cloſeted in the womb of time, received nouriſhment before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is ſeated upon a very high Rock, which habitations do incompaſs, as [b] *Strabo:* on the top of which ſtands that renowned Fabrick even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himſelf names [c] *Cecropia*; of old Ἄστυ, *The City*, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their Antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetual contention with the *Argivi*. Witneſs [d] *Pauſanias.* * *Terent. An in aſtu venit?* Donat. *Sic Athenienſes Urbem ſuam vocabant, unde ipſe incolæ* ἀστοὶ *vocantur, So*, ſaith he, *the Athenians called that City, whence the Citizens themſelves are called Aſtoi*: after that they called it Πόλις. [f] *Pauſanias.* Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or *the high City*, although it be often interpreted *Arx, a Caſtle*; which ever were ſacred to *Minerva*, as [g] *Ariſtides.* Who therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks*, named *Diva retinens in ſummis Urbibus Arces: The Goddeſs that keeps the Turrets of Cities.* This onely now remains the ſuccour and ſhelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being ſtrongly furniſhed with Men and Arms, in which alone dwell Janizaries to the number of ſeven hundred thouſand, as *Chriſtopherus Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing leſt he had miſtaken the number. As for the Forces thereof, [h] *Hugo Favolius* ſhall thus inſtruct you,

Arx tantùm celebris hoc tempore Montis eodem
Quæque impôſta jugo eſt, vaſtas proſpectat in undas

Æquo-

[a] *In* Panath. *p.* 171, 172.

[b] *Lib.* 9. *p.* 396.

[c] Plin. *Nat. Hiſt. l.* 7. *c.* 56.

[d] *In* Att. *p.* 13. *l.* 16.

* Eunuch. *act.* 5. *ſc.* 6.

[f] Attic. *p.* 24. *l.* 43.

[g] *Orat. in* Minerv. *To.* 1. *p.* 21.

[h] *Hodœp. Byz. l.* 3.

Æquoris, & circum diſperſa mapalia, & omnes
Externo indigenas nocuo tutatur ab hoſte.
Nobilis Arx, toto qua non eſt altera Graio
Nota magis regno, validiſque inſtructior armis,
Ignivomóque magis tormentorum impete tuta.

A Caſtle onely famous at this day,
Set on an Hill, below which views the Sea,
The ſcattered thatch'd ſheds that ſtand it about,
The Fort deſcends and keeps Invaſion out,
And Natives ſafe. A Fort, none noted more
In *Greece*, which hath a better Warlike ſtore,
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the top of this Turret ſtands the faſhions of Half-Moons moſt rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Iſhmaelites*, who have the Moon in no ſmall honour, as my much honoured Mr. [i] *Selden* hath obſerved. Of which Lunulets thus ſpeaks *Favolius*,

[i] *De Diis Syris, Syn. 2. cap. 2. p. 288.*

Cujus inauratis longè rutilantia Lunis
Ardua cœlivagas feriunt faſtigia nubes,

Whoſe top with gilded Moons aſpiring high,
Do knock the clouds the Pilgrims of the ſky.

Neither may it paſs obſcurely which I have taken up, being let fall from the mouth of an eye-witneſs; namely, that on the ſide of this Hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, grows a certain kind of herb, that far off, in the night ſeaſon, gives a moſt ſhining and glittering light, to which when a man ſhall approach, he ſhall diſcern nothing but the herb it ſelf. Of which matter I ſeriouſly wiſh that I could teſtifie the truth. It was delivered to me, *bonâ fide, with good credit.* The Walls that environ this are none now, ſays *Favolius*, but in former time it hath been well fenced, ſome part thereof erected by thoſe two *Tuſcan* Brothers, who, leaving their Country, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called Πελαργοὶ, *Pelargi*, Storks, διὰ τὸ πλάνω, *for their wandring*; [k] *Strabo.* [l] *Pliny* ſays their names were *Eurialus* and *Hyperbius*. The two that firſt built Houſes of Brick at *Athens*; when formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pauſanias*, though the Printers and Scribes

[k] *Lib. 9. p. 397.*
[l] *Nat. Hiſt. l. 7. c. 65.*

Scribes have done both that Authour and the persons wrong in putting a false name upon one of them, I will doe them none. Reade then *Laterarias domus constituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. [m] *Pausanias*, φασὶ δὲ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον. From these was that part which they edified, called *Pelargicum*. *Aristophanes in Avibus*,

Τὶς δ' ἂν κεδάξει τὴν πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν;

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades* clothed. *Pausanias* in the fore-quoted place. These Walls admitted no Gate but one, so rarely beautified with that costly *Propylæum* or Porch, on which [n] *Pericles* is discommended by [n] *Demetrius Phalareus* for disbursing so great a sum of money. [o] For which he was not smally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore seeing Him somewhat sad, and demanding the cause, to whom when his Unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, Seek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counsel the *Athenians* were entangled with their neighbour War against the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit. By the *way* it shall be fit to acquaint you now thus much, that it was not permitted to a Dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as [p] *Plutarch*, διὰ τὰ ἀκολάστως καὶ δυσώδως, it may be, *for his heat in Venery and ill savour*. Goats likewise, says [q] *Varro*, came not thither, unless for a necessary sacrifice once, lest they should hurt the *Olive*, which is said first to have sprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is said to be threescore *stadia*. Now a *stadium* is about some [r] six hundred and twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the custome of the ancient Greeks so to measure the length or distance of grounds or Cities, by the στάδια. The first City then is contained in seven miles and an half. But to this were added more Houses, able to make a City of themselves. And so indeed were they distinguished by ἡ ἄνω & ἡ κάτω Πόλις, *the upper and lower City*. †*Plutarch*, ἥ τε κάτω καὶ περὶ θάλασσαν οἰκοῦντες τὴν ἄνω Πόλιν διαφυλάξαι. Note here moreover, in the reading of your Greek Authours, that when you meet with τὰ ἄνω

in

m *In* Attic. p. 26. l. 34.

n Tul. *Off.* l. 72.

o Val. Max. *l.* 3. c. 1.

p Ἐλλιαν. pag. 175.

q *De re Rust.*

r *Five feet make a pace, and a thousand paces a mile.* Isidor. Orig. *l.* 15. c. 16.

† *In* Phoc. p. 549. l. 47.

in the *deſcription* of a *Country*, you preſently muſt conceive the higher part, if it be τὰ ἄνω, the lower. [t] *Thucydides*, ἐφεῦν τε δὲ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες ἀ θαλάσσιοι κάτω ᾤκουν, *And they preyed upon each other, and among the reſt, who were not addicted to the Sea, yet lived below*, underſtand near the Sea, *Schol.* ἐγγὺς τῆς θαλάσσης. The τὰ ἄνω then and τὰ κάτω knit together, made but one joint Corporation, both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themſelves, took up, as [v] *Dion Chryſoſtom* writes, two hundred *ſtadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place *Morellus* produces a *Scholiaſt* teſtifying that the Walls were μιλίων ιε' παρὰ σταδίου ἕν, *fifteen miles ſave one furlong*. Where I wonder that the learned man had not ſoon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written κε for ιε', twenty five for fifteen; for ſo it ought to be. Neither is it ſtrange that it had ſo large a bound. For conſider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may ſee in [x] *Pliny*, from *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and ſo to the other ſide of *Piræum*, four miles and a quarter. The utmoſt Wall of which *Thucydides* ſpeaks in the ſecond Book, conſiſted of five miles a quarter and half. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had ſeven miles and an half more. All which being put together, makes up but twenty two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chryſoſtom* muſt be here underſtood, and it behoves us to conceive, that he ſpake not barely of the naked Walls, for then it cannot hold; but I ſuppoſe ſome Houſes to have been without [y] περὶς τὸ ἀστυ, as he ſays, τῶν ἄστεως, εἰκῆπαι γὰρ πάλαι καὶ ταῦτα ξυμπαῦλα. In which I appeal to more judicious heads. Neither can I ſilently paſs by the opinion of *John Meurſius*, who reading in [z] *Pauſanias* theſe words, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ μάλιστα εἶναι ἀφέστηκε ἡ Πόλεως ἡ πρὸς Φαληρῷ θαλάσσῃ, ſhould preſently obtrude to us, that *Pauſanias* teaches, that the [a] Wall called *Phalericus* is but twenty *ſtadia*, or two mile and an half. When indeed he meant nothing leſs. For ſpeaking of ſalt Springs, which he calls θαλάσσης κύμαλα, he ſeems to involve a reaſon drawn from the nearneſs of the Sea. For when he writes of this brackiſh Well, *Among the Athenians, the Sea which comes up near Phalerus, is diſtant from*

[t] *Lib. 1. pag. 6. 2.*

[v] *Orat. 6.*

[x] *Nat. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 85.*

[y] *Loco citato.*

[z] *In Arcad. p. 244. l. 37.*

[a] *Ant. Lect. l. 3. c. 4.*

from the City but twenty ſtadia *at the moſt*, quoth he. Where *Amaſeus* hath thus ſtrangely doted, *Athenæ à Phalero abſunt ſtadia haud amplius xx.* And that this was the meaning of the Authour proves that which follows. He might have likewiſe conſidered that περὶ with a Dative caſe, ſignifies not onely *juxta* and *prope*, as I have tranſlated it, but *ſupra* ſometimes, which will now ſerve better. And *Meurſius* indeed blames the number, but ſees not into the words. Now it is not needleſs that the two Walls, which joyn *Piræum* and *Athens* at ſo long a diſtance, be ſomewhat ſpoken of, ſeeing they are reckoned by [b] *Livy* among the *multa viſenda*, Many things worthy of ſight at *Athens*. Theſe are the μακρὰ τείχη, in [c] *Propertius*, *Theſeæ brachia longa viæ*; [d] *Appian* of *Alexandria* μακρὰ πόλαι, and [*] *Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which [f] *Plutarch*. The other towards the South, in height about forty Cubits, as [g] *Appian* teſtifies. Theſe are called διὰ μέσου τείχη by [h] *Dion Chryſoſtom*, becauſe *Athens* being at one end, and *Pyræum* at the other, theſe were drawn forth between. And when Writers ſpeak of Νότον διὰ μέσου τεῖχος, it may be conjectured that 'tis for diſtinction of that Νότον τεῖχος in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built; [i] witneſs *Pauſanias*. *Ariſtophanes* ſeems to bring authority for an opinion that *Themiſtocles* built theſe; *In* [k] *Equitibus*,

Τὸν Πειραιᾶ περιτείμαξεν.

Which his [l] Scholiaſt affirms, Τὸν γὰρ Πειραιᾶ Θεμιστοκλῆς περιέβαλε τῇ Πόλει, *For Themiſtocles added Piræum to the City.* We reade in [m] *Probus* that he was the onely Agent in walling the City, and that he ſo haſtned the accompliſhing, that they were fain to be as it were Sacrilegious, and make uſe of Materials formerly conſecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But [n] *Plutarch* gain-ſays this, and that he did onely ἁψῖδι μίαν τὸ Πειραιεῖ, καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν θαλάττης, *Conjoyn the City and Piræum, and put the Land to take acquaintance with the Sea.* It ſeems ſomewhat forward before. However, ſo fenny was the ground it was founded upon, that the work ſoon came to great reparation, which [o] *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades* undertook. For with Stones of a huge weight, and Lime, he made the Earth ſo firm that it could not

[b] *Lib.* 31.
[c] *Lib.* 3. *Eleg.* 19. *p.* 192.
[d] *In bello* Mith. *p.* 125. *l.* 9.
[*] *Pag.* 355. *l.* 13.
[f] *In* Pericle. *p.* 115. *l.* 20.
[g] *In* Mith. *p.* 125. *l. ult.*
[h] *Orat.* 6.
[i] Attic. *p.* 19. *l.* 8.
[k] *p.* 337.
[l] *p.* 337. A. *col.* 2.
[m] *In* Them *p.* 27.
[n] *In* Them *p.* 87. *l.* 25.
[o] Plut. *in* Cim. *p.* 355. *l.* 14.

not give. Nay he was ſo liberal, that he did out of his own expenſes ſo great favours to a People, that ſome years after gratified him with exile. Neither did he onely mend the breaches; but in after-time [p] finiſhed the whole work, ſo that he may truly be ſaid to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. [q] *Meurſius* hath obſerved ten, but I fear they will ſcarce ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt City. Take then theſe, *Dipylon* or *Thriaſia*, the faireſt of all, *velut in ore Urbis poſita, placed as it were in the front of the City,* ſays [r] *Livy*, *major aliquantò patentiórque quàm cætera eſt, greater ſomewhat and wider than the reſt.* Hence I ſuppoſe named *Dipylon*, as if it were as big as two Gates. Πειραϊκὰ, *Piraicæ*, near the Temple of *Chalcodoon*. Here were buried ſome of thoſe that died in fight with the *Amazons* in the time of *Theſeus*; † *Plutarch.* Ἱππάδες, *Hippades*, where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Oratour reſt with his Progenitours, who being racked under *Antipater*, choſe rather to bite off his tongue, than to divulge the ſecrets of his Countrey. [t] Ἱεραὶ, *Sacræ*, the Sacred Gate. We reade of this in [v] *Theophraſtus's Characters*; but to my great admiration that the Eagle-ſighted *Caſaubon* had not eſpy'd a fault. For though it be true that there were ſuch Gates at *Athens* as Ἱεραὶ, yet is there any that ever read μὴ τὰς Ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξενηνχθαι νεκρὸς, *The dead to have been carried out to burial through the ſacred gate?* It makes not any thing that it was ſpoken to a ſtupid fellow, for they ſpake not as our vulgar do, ſuch as *when Chriſtmas comes out of Wales*; write then Ἔεια. Ἔεια are the Gates at which they went forth with their Corpſes at the ſolemnizations of their Obſequies, the reaſon of which ſhall be ſpoken hereafter. [x] *Demoſthenes*, Αἰγίδος Πύλαι, *The Gates of Ægeus.* It ſeems to have been in *Delphinium*, where he dwelt; whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the Eaſt end of the Temple was called [y] Ἑρμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγίδος, *The ſtatue at the gates of Ægeus.* Μελιτίδες, *Melitides*, where lies *Thucydides* the Son of *Olorus* that wrote the *Peloponneſian War*, who after his return into his Countrey from baniſhment, was treacherouſly murthered, his Sepulchre ſtands near theſe Gates, [z] *Pauſanias.* Κεραμικὴ, *Ceramica*; Theſe are called by *Xenophon*, αἱ ἐν

p Plut. *p.* 353. *l.* 12. *Unleſs τὸ ὕστερον may have reſpect to* Conon, *who after the Victory at* Cnidus *erected theſe Walls, as* Pauſan. *in* Attic. *p.* 2. *l.* 14. *I would neither deceive my ſelf nor the Reader.*

q Attic. *Leſt. Initio.*

r *Dec.* 4. *l.* 1. *p.* 11. A.

† *In* Theſeo. *p.* 2. *l.* 20.

t ἐν βίοις τῶν ἰητόρων. *p.* 456.

v περὶ ἐναυδαμονίας. *p.* 45.

x *Pag.* 715. *num.* 95.

y Plut. Theſ. *p.* 4. *l.* 21.

z Atticis *p.* 21. *l.* 41.

αἱ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ Πύλαι, *The Gates in Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedemonians* were buried, which died in the seditious War, that *Thrasybulus* made against the *Thirty Tyrants*.

[a] Ἑλλ. lib. iv. c. p. 278. l. 43.

[a] *Xenophon.* Διοχάρους Πύλαι, *The Gates of Diocharen.* Of whom I have nought to speak. Ἀχαρνικαὶ Πύλαι, *The Acharnan Gates.* I suppose they were called so from the Town or Village near, named *Acharna*, to which it is probable it looked. For so did the ancients name their Gates from the Town to which they were near. The *Romans* their *Porta Collatina*, from *Collatia*, a Bridge not far off. And haply it is so here, as also in Διόμεια, *Diomea*; for *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter distant from the City. Θρακίαι, *Thracia.* These are all that I met with named. Others there are obscurely pointed at by [b] *Pausanias*, as that near the Gallery, which from its various draughts, they call *Pœcile*, where is the Effigies of *Mercury Agoræus* in brass. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of which I had better hold my peace, than speak as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve Gates, which being opened, enter, suck that sweet air, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute Wits [c] and prepared with a most happy bounty understandings, judgments for contemplation. Whence [d] *Euripides* may well strein to this note, that *Venus* sitting near and adorning herself, sends forth continually *Cupids of Learning*, παιδεύσεις ἐρωτικὰς ξυνεργούς. Well may he bless that clime, styling it [e] λαμπρόπατον αἰδοῖα, which hath been the mother of the *Muses* (by the leave of *Mnemosyne*) or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to have travelled with *Harmonia*; as if there were no such melodious concent, as in the Sciences. Let not [f] *Theophrastus* assert all *Greece* to lie under the same temperature and disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it; [g] No coast so truly void of all earthly dregs, and participating more of the celestial and defecated air. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been lavish in expressions, [h] *Famous*, [i] *The most renowned*, [k] *Happy*, [l] *Sacred Athens*. *Pindarus*, [m] *Wonderfull*, [n] *much spoken of*, [o] *Neat*, &c. To the making up of her delight comes to all the River *Cephissus*, which is able to bear Vessels of a good

Meursius *hath added two*, Itoneæ, & Scææ, in Atticis, *which I never saw untill I had written this place, as God and man is witness. I speak lest any should think I have stoln out of him, because we meet.*

[b] Atticis, p. 14. c. 11.

[c] Cassiod. Var. l. 12.

[d] Medea, p. 460, 461.

[e] Med. p. 459.

[f] *In Præf. ad Charakt.*

[g] *Tom.* I. p. 173.

[h] Aia. p. 57.

[i] Oed. Col. p. 258.

[k] Oed. Col. p. 264.

[l] Aia. p. 71.

[m, n, o] p. 391.

good burthen, as I have been informed, but the *Turks* fearing leſt it might be advantageous to an enemy that might invade them, have cut it into many and ſundry little ſtreams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of ſtones the mouth of the River for a mile in length. Thinking they have ſufficiently prevented that, which they did but ſuppoſe could happen.

CAP. III.

Ἀττικοὶ, Ἀδωναῖοι, *Mores, & Ingenia.* Τὰ μαθήματα. *Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modúmque habent.*

THE *Athenians* by [a] *Dicæarchus* are divided into two ſorts, Ἀττικοὺς, *Atticos*, and Ἀδωναίους. Of which, though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Inſomuch as one of the puniſhments, which the *Athenians* are ſaid to inflict upon their women (for the appeaſing of *Neptune*, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great damage, in anger conceived for loſs of the Title of the City) was this, [b] That none ſhould after call them Ἀδωναίους, *Athenians*, but Ἀττικὰς, *Atticos*. A revenge I ſuppoſe opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author, Οἱ μὲν ἀδόλεσχοι καὶ κόλακες, ὑπνῶται, συκοφάνται, παρασήμου καὶ ξενικοῦ βίου, *Curious babblers, Deceitfull, Calumniatours, Obſervers of the lives of ſtrangers,* Πλείστου δὲ λαλιᾶς. A ſufficient witneſs of this is [c] St. *Luke*, that ſays, *They did regard nothing more than to hear and ſpeak novelty.* To which end they often met in Barbers Shops, where all news, that was going in thoſe days, was current. Hence ſay we, *Verba in Tonſtrinis proculcata*, and in Greek, Ἐπὶ τοῖς Κειρομένοις λόγος, [d] *Ariſtophanes.*

Καὶ τοι λόγος γ' ἦν, νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, πολὺς
Ἐπὶ τοῖσι Κειρομένοις καθημένων
Ὡς ἐξαίφνης ἄνθρ' ἁλῶναι πλούσιον.

They that ſate in Barbers Shops did talk much that he was ſuddenly grown rich. The Scholiaſt ſeems to take the meaning, as if

[a] ἐν βίῳ Ἑλλάδος. *p.* 169.

[b] Varro *apud* Aug. *de Civ. Dei. l.* 18. *c.* 9.

[c] Act. 17.

[d] *In* Pluto. *p.* 38.

as if the Comedian had quipped them for reſorting to Barbers, and neglecting Barber Chirurgeons, of better credit. But I ſee no reaſon. They met in both to prattle, * *Ælian*, Καθεζομένους ἐν ἰατρείῳ, ψογεροὺς, καὶ πανοῦργον ἀκροᾶσθαι ἐν πολλῷ τῷ πυθέσθαι, *Sitting in a Chirurgeon's Shop, ſcandalous, and thirſty to ſpeak ill by all means.* † Υπουλοι, men Italianated, who can ſmile even when they cut your throat. Such as ‖ *Theophraſtus* hath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to their Enemies, and diſguiſe their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their ſnares; that ſalute with mortal Embracements, and claſp you in thoſe arms, which they mean to embrew in your deareſt Bloud. In ſum, fair without, but rotten within, like a Wound which is healed above and ſeems ſound, but putrifies under the skin. And ſo much the word doth import. Συκοφαντικοὺς, Given to falſe accuſations. The § Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* writes, That it being forbidden to carry Figs out of *Athens*, and ſome, nevertheleſs the Decree being abſolute againſt it, preſuming ſo to doe, they ſet Rogues in the Gates that did appeach them (as ‖ *Plutarch* likewiſe.) Hence came this word to be uſed for any crafty Knave that gets his living by promoting, ¶ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῆν, One that meddles in every man's affairs. And therefore ** *Ariſtophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the Stage, terming himſelf an *Overſeer* both of private and publick matters. If then ſuch a perſon had eſpied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, he would as ſure have fetched him over for his Coin, as any *Sumner* doth a perſon delinquent towards the Fleſh, or any Lawyer a credulous Client, and having well plumed him, afterwards give him a Dimiſſory. †† Ἐκεῖνος (*Sycophanta*) ἂν χθὲς ἐμοῦ ἔλαβε χαμαὶ δραχμὴν, ζῆν ἐᾶν. *Xenophon.* Such were many in *Athens*, inſomuch that *Ariſtotle* being asked what *Athens* was, anſwered πυθέαν, *all beautifull*, ἀλλ' ὄγχνη ἐπ' ὄγχνῃ γηράσκει, αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ συκῇ συκῆ, in a verſe of ‡‡ *Homer*, in the deſcription of *Alcinous* his Garden, *but pears grew ripe after pears, and figs after figs*, meaning a continual ſucceſſion of ſycophants: This made *Iſocrates* the Orator to compare the City to a *Curtizan*, with whom few there were but would have to doe, yet none dare take

* Var. *Hiſt. lib.* 3. c. 7.

† *Cap. περὶ εἰρωνίας.*

‖ *In* Plut. *p.* 5.

§ *In* Solone. *p.* 65.

¶ Xenophon. Ἑλλην. ϛ'. *p.* 271. *l.* 20.

** Pluto. *p.* 90. c. *p.* 61. B.

†† Ἑλλην. ϛ'. *p.* 272. *l.* 19.

‡‡ Ὀδυσ. η'.

take to wife; affirming it the best place to sojourn in, but the worst to inhabit: By reason of their Sycophants, and treacheries of nimble tongued Orators. Πανοῦργοι ἢ ξενικὸν βίον. I was once half in an opinion that these words were to have been put to the former, thus; πανοῦργοι δὲ πανοῦργοι ἢ ξενικὸν βίον, and I think the sense will run well, *Malitious observers of the lives of strangers.* The *Athenians* were φιλόξενοι, and held hospitality sacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law, *That foreigners should receive no wrong,* ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται, [a] *Socrates* in *Xenophon.* Now he discommends the Ἀθηναῖοι as ready to trouble and vex strangers in Law, duly marking and bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage. As for the *Athenienses* they were μεγαλόψυχοι, ἁπλοῖ τῇ βάσει, φιλίας γνώμης φύλακες, *brave spirited, single dealing, and faithfull friends.* But as the words were at length confounded, so did their manners degenerate, growing into ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς φύσεως, an *Irregularity of nature,* as [b] *Polybius.* No μεγαλόψυχα afterwards, but haughtiness of spirit, magnanimity now fallen. And when [c] *Livy* says, *Ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos servare,* he means, they had nothing left but those proud spirits; which their ancient flourishing fortune hath puffed up. No ἁπλότης or simplicity, *no lamb-like innocency,* or *mildness*; but as [d] *Plutarch* speaks, *people rashly angry, soon pitifull, rather inclined sharply to take Opinion, than quietly to be informed. And as they are ready to help base and abject peasants, so friendly do they entertain childish and ridiculous toys, rejoycing in their own praises, and nothing moved with scurrility; Fearfull and terrible even to their Governours, humane towards their Enemies.* Not unfitly then † *Valerius Maximus, Quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur,* &c. *How deserve they to be blamed,* who though they had just laws, yet had most wicked dispositions, and chose rather to take their own courses, than put in practice their statutes? As for their impudence, so great was it, that to express a countenance void of shame, the Comedian hath put Ἀθηναῖον βλέπειν, an *Athenian look, in* [e] *Nubibus.* φιλίας γνώμης φύλακες, so accounted in the time of [f] *Paterculus,* that what was done in sincerity and faithfull trust, the *Romans* would say it was performed *fide Attica,* with

[a] Ἀπομνημ. Σ. p. 428.
[b] Lib. 6.
[c] Dec. 4. p. 75. l. 1.
[d] Aristoph. p. 694. πλιτ. ἀδικ. p. 387.
† Lib. 5. c. 3. pag. 207.
[e] Pag. 103. g.
[f] Lib. 2. p. 47.

with an [illegible] loyalty [illegible] and power might make them trusty, but how they broke their Leagues, took part with other *Islanders* against Confederates, and violated the Laws of Arms, Historians are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was *deiμνησις, ever mindfull*, as [x] *Virgil, memor iræ.* And the hatred they prosecuted the *Barbarians* withall, was so unquenchable, that it burned against [y] all *Barbarians* for the *Persians* sake; and they forbad them their Sacrifices, as they used to do murtherers among them: Where you must note, that all that were not *Grecians* were called of them *Barbarians.* But lo! how are they now become all *barbarous!* whether or no people of *Africa*, or some of the *Catelani*, I cannot justly tell, *Mahumetans* all, poor and miserable, living by rapine, or fishing, or tilling the earth, [z] *Favolius*;

[x] Æneid. 1.

[y] Isocrat. *in* Pan. 109.

[z] *Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.*

——— duxáque coacti
Pauperie assuerunt vitam tolerare rapinâ.
Aut passim infestant furto, raptóque propinqua
Æquora piratæ: sed quæ pars æquior, hamis
Fallit inescatos tereti sub arundine pisces;
Aut desolatas exercet vomere terras,
Semper inops, misera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.

Oppress with need, they do their life sustain
By rapine, and annoy the neighbour main
With pillaging. Who are more just and good,
With angling do the silly Fish delude;
Or plough the grounds made desolate before,
Unhappy, wretched, mis'rable, still poor.

CAP. IV.

De populi divisione, Εὐπατρίδαι. Γεωμόροι. Δημιοῦργοι. Πενταποσιομέδιμνοι. Ἱππεῖς. Ζευγῖται. Θῆτες. *Quid Athenienses cum Ægyptiis commune.*

[a] *So doth* Dionysius Halicarnassæus, *divide them into* εὐπατρίδας & ἀγροίκους, *lib. 2. n. 2.*

THere were at first two kinds of People in *Athens*, [a] two Orders, *quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæque aliquid interlucebat, in which there was difference of dignity and fortune:* such

such as at this day are in *France*, either Lords or Peasants; or as in *Venice*, *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. And although *Pollux* calls them τρία γένη, *three sorts*, yet I make but two, because the γεωμόροι were not any-way more gentile or proud, surpassing for riches, or happy for life. But because he hath so set them, take them thus, as he speaks, [b] τρία γὰρ ἦν τὰ πάλαι, Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιοργοί. Εὐπατρίδαι, *Eupatridæ*, were such as were descended from the loins of those *Heroes*, famous in *Greek History*, whose families were ever renowned, and posterity propagated to many generations, such as *Praxiergidæ*, *Eteobutadæ*, *Alcmæonidæ*, *Cynidæ*, *Ceryces*, &c. whom we may term Nobles, or men of good birth. Γεωμόροι, *Geomori*, may not seem unlike our Yeomen, who had Land of their own, and sustained themselves with the fruit and commodity of these their possessions. Δημιοργοί, *Demiurgi*, were men of some Handi-craft, Trades-men, such as Tent-makers, Shoe-makers, Carpenters, Masons, and the like. But *Solon* made another division. For when the *Diacrii*, which were those that lived in the upper part of the City, οἱ ἐξ ἄστεως, says [c] *Diogenes Laertius*; and the *Pediæi*, which likewise are πεδιεῖς, such as lived in the middle of the City, or the Plain; and the *Paralii* who lived near the Sea, were at contention about Government: The *Diacrii* leaning to a Democraty, as [d] *Plutarch* writes, the *Pediæi* to an Oligarchy, and the *Paralii* between both, and had chosen *Solon* to arbitrate and determine the matter; he makes these four ranks, *Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, Ἱππεῖς, Ζευγῖται, Θῆτες, *Pentacosiomedimnos*, *Equites*, *Zeugites*, *Thetas*. *Pentacosiomedimni* were those who ἐν ξηροῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑγροῖς, could make five hundred measures in wet and dry commodities alike. What *Possardus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning *modium*, hath no place here; for he supposes that *Pentacosiomedimnus* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Medimni* could suffice to sow; but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ἐν ὑγροῖς. For he seems to sow upon the waters. This is he whom the *Elzevirii* printed at *Leyden*, *An.* 1635. under the name of *Postellus*, who was sometimes a Professour of Tongues in *France*, and Authour of the Treatise *De Magistratibus Atheniensium*.

[b] Pollux. *l.* 8. c. 9. p. 404.

[c] *In* Solone.

[d] *Pag.* 61. *In* Solonem.

* Plut. *p.* 65.

Equites

Equites were such as were of ability to keep a Horse, or had the quantity of three hundred measures in dry, and as many in wet: called likewise Ἱππάδα πλουσίας. *Zeugita*, were such as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred. Any of these three could bear Office in the Commonwealth. A fourth rank which is called [f] Θῆτας, *Thetæ*, a name from servility, which had no power in the rule of the Wealpublick. But it had not been amiss if I had shewn how the *Ægyptians* had divided their people into three Classes as the *Athenians* did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree or *Eupatridæ* addicted to learning and study, who were had in greater honour, answer to the *Ægyptian* Priests. [g] Nay those great Houses in *Athens* had Priesthood by succession, as *Eumolpidæ*, *Ciryces*, *Cynidæ*. For out of the stock were chosen Priests, hence ἱερωσύνη ἐκ γένους, in [h] *Demosthenes*. The *Geomori*, who had Lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not dislike them in *Ægypt* who hold possessions on these terms, namely, To provide Souldiers when need shall require to fight. The *Demiurgi* resemble those Plebeians, who skilfull in some Art, did set out their labour to daily hire, as *Diodorus Siculus* can testifie.

[f] Plutarch. *loco prædicto.*

[g] Plut. Thes. p. 8. *l.* 18. *n.* 164.

[h] *Pag.* 741.

CAP. V.

Tribus quatuor sub Cecrope, mutata earum nomina. Augentur à Clisthene: duæ additæ. Φυλαὶ. Φρατρίαι. Τριττύς. Τύφος. *Tribulum.* Κουρεῖα. Φυλάρχης δῆμος, Φρατριάρχης.

IN *Athens* there were but four Tribes under the rule of *Cecrops*. *Cecropis*, *Autocthon*, *Actæ*, *Paralia*; which had other names put to them, *Cranais*, *Atthis*, *Mesogæa*, *Diacris*. I suppose from the parts of *Attica*, it lying partly near the Sea, thence *Actæa*, partly hilly, thence *Diacris*, partly Mediterrane, thence *Mesogæa*, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour that Tribe so much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not.

not. It is probable that it was an honour to their Governour, for as *Cecrops* gave the first names, *Cranaus* the second, *each assuming a title to himself*; *Erictonius* called them after the name of *Jupiter, Pallas, Neptune, Vulcan.* Διὰς, Ἀθηνᾶς, Ποσειδωνιάδος, Ἡφαιστιάδος. But when *Ion* came to rule, they were named after his four Sons, *Geleontes, Ægicoreis, Argades, Hopletes*, as [a] *Herodotus* and [b] *Euripides*. Though *Plutarch* says that they were so called, [c] ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰς ἃ διηρέθησαν αἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον, *from the courses of life which they first took.* But *Clisthenes*, a man factious and wealthy, is said by the Counsel of [d] *Apollo, Alcmæon* being Archon, to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from some Demigods or *Heroes* born in that Land all, except *Ajax*, whom though a stranger, he put to the rest as a neighbour and companion, * *Herodotus.* These then were called Ἐπώνυμοι, as you would say, giving names; the word so signifies sometimes, as *Minerva* is said by *Dion Chrysostom*, Ἐπώνυμος Ἀθηνῶν, who gave the names to *Athens.* To these were erected Statues near the Council place of the Senate. Their names are these, as [f] *Pausanias* hath them, *Hippothoon, Antiochus, Ajax Telamonius, Leo, Erectheus* that slew *Immaradus* the Son of *Eumolpus* in the *Eleusinian* War, *Ægeus, Oeneus, Acamas, Cecrops, Pandion.* From these Ἱπποθοωνὶς, Ἀντιοχὶς, Αἰαντὶς, Λεωνὶς, Οἰνηὶς, Κεκροπὶς, Πανδιονίς. To which they put two more, one called after *Antigonus*, the other after *Demetrius* his name, in gratitude to them for the favours received; which in process of time they changed into *Attalis*, and *Ptolemais*, as *Stephanus* writes, διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχοῦσαν εὐεργεσίαν τῶν Βασιλέων, *having been courteously entreated by the* [g] *Kings bearing that name.* Which being so, let us take heed that *Livy* deceive us not, who at the time, when *Attalus* did succour the *Athenians* against *Philip*, says, They first thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thanksgiving that the *Rhodii* rescued four fighting Ships of the *Athenians* taken by the *Macedonians*, and sent them home, [h] *Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addendâ.* Thus have we seen that there were twelve Tribes in all. Let us look back to the first institution. I suppose they

[a] *In* Terpsich. p. 137.
[b] *In* Ione *versus finem.*
[c] *In* Solon. p. 65.
[d] Aristides *T.* 1. p. 336. A. *T.* 3. p. 352.
* *In* Terpsich. p. 137.
[f] *In* Att. p. 4, 5.
[g] *These are reckoned among the Eponymos in* Paus. p. 5. *who had Statues likewise.*
[h] *Decad.* 4. *l.* 1. p. 6.

they were first ordained for the better administration of Civil Government. [i] *Eustathius* writes that they were divided in imitation of the year, the four Tribes according to the four Quarters; each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call πατρὶς or φρατρία answerable to the twelve Months, each φρατρία or πατρὶς, into thirty γένη or kindreds equalizing the days. For so many onely had the year of old. Witness the Riddle of [k] *Cleobulus* concerning the year.

Εἷς πατὴρ, παῖδες ᾧ δυώδεκα, τοὶ δ' ἑκάστῳ
Παῖδες τριήκοντ' εἶδος ἔχουσι.

One Father had twelve Sons, and each Son thirty Daughters, and every Daughter black and white, meaning days and nights. Over these were Governours, φυλοβασιλεῖς, Kings of the Tribes, who sate upon Controversies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertian also had his Overseer called τριττύαρχος, the Ruler of the *Trittys* or *Phratria*. The word may seem to signifie a Society, Fellowship, or Company: it skills not whether you derive it from φρατεία, *Eustath.* or πατεία, as *Suidas*, or φρέαρ, as others, which is a Well, because they drew water from the same Well. For the place being scanty of Springs where *Athens* was founded, there being but one well-spring in *Athens*, they were constrained to use φρέατα πυελοῖς, *digged Wells*, as [l] *Plutarch.* Φράτορες are the men of that Society, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*, of the same Ward, speaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his servants should afford what they had, if any *Laciades* should come into his Farm. In description of which thing *Plutarch* uses δημότης, which then we are not to interpret *Curialis* (For this is as much as συγγενὴς and συμφυλέτης) but *Popularis*: These at Festival days in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as [m] *Eustathius* observes, and [n] *Pollux* (where they brought their Children to be engrossed in their Books, as shall be hereafter spoken, with the reasons thereof) Φρατρίζειν, *Phratrizein*, from hence comes, which is τὸ εἰς φρατρίαν συνιέναι, *to meet*, for so *Eustathius* in another place εἰς πατρὸς συνιέναι. As for the γένη, or kindreds, we must not think that they were of one bloud, but of that near conjunction which they had each with other, being admitted into this Society.

[i] *In Il. ζ'. p. 181.*

[k] Laertius. *p. 63. l. 1.*

[l] *In* Solone *p. 65. l. 33.*

[m] Iliad, ζ'. *pag. 181. & Il. i. p. 629.*

[n] *Lib. 3. c. 4.*

Society. Τένει μὲ (every γένος or kindred consisting of thirty, whence they were named Τριττύες) ἃ φρατρικοὶ λέγες, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Συνόδε ἃ τῶν φρατερῶν ὄμωροι, *Not of affinity so called, but for their Synod,* which the Grammarians call σύστημα κοινωνικὸν, *a communicative familiarity,* Κοινωνία, being a participating in one thing, or having an equal share in the same Privileges. Great was their care of each other, great was their mutual love, which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certain Feasts to be provided, wherein they should kindly entertain each other. Δεῖπνα φυλετικὰ and φρατερικὰ, *Athenæus.* Τῶν δὲ νῦν δείπνων προτοῦντες οἱ νομοθέται τά τε φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν· ἔτι δὲ τοῖς Θιάσοις καὶ τοῖς φρατερικοῖς, &c. *Of Feasts celebrated at this day the Law-makers have appointed Phyletica, for Tribes, Demotica for the people or popular. Moreover Thiasos for Colleges* (as Philosophers for the death of their Grand Masters) *and Phratrica for the same Ward.* Hence Ἐστιᾶσθαι δὲ φυλὴν, and ἑστιᾶσθαι τοὺς φράτερας. Of which in due time. The reason of this the *Dipnosophist* gives, saying, That Wine hath ἑλκυστικόν τι πρὸς φιλίαν, *an attractive and perswading force to procure love and friendship.*

[o] *Dipnosoph. l. 5. p. 185. d.*

CAP. VI.

Græcia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος *quid? Athenienſibus proprium habere* Δήμους. *Quot? Templa & ſacra pagatim.*

ALL *Greece* was inhabited κατὰ κώμας, as [a] *Thucydides* ſpeaks, by Villages, before there were any Towns; from whence comes the word Comedy. [b] *At verò nondum coactis in Urbem Athenienſibus, cum Apollini Nomio, id eſt, Paſtorum vicinorumque præſidi Deo, conſtructis aris in honorem divinæ rei circum Attica vicos, villas, & compita feſtum carmen ſolenniter cantarent: orta eſt Comœdia* ἀπὸ τῆς κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, *quod eſt, commeſſatum ire cantantes.* The *Athenians* being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they ſung ſacred

[a] *Lib. 1.*

[b] Donat. *in Præf. in* Ter.

hymns to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the Preſident to the *Shepherds* and *Neighbours*, about the Villages, Houſes, and croſs ways of *Attica*, Altars being built in honour of the celebrity, ſprung up a Comedy, ἀπὸ τῦ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, *from revelling and ſinging*. Others will have it derived from an ancient cuſtome they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the ſtreet where the offender lived, and in the night time to cry aloud, [c] ὁ δεῖνα ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα, ἀνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ νόμων, *Such a one doeth wrong, and commits ſuch and ſuch Outrages, although there be Gods and Laws*, by which theſe abuſes were reformed. But the *Anonymus*, in a Preface to *Ariſtophanes*, ſays, Μὴ κώμας καλεῖσθαι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ δήμους, *that they were not called* Κώμας, or Villages, *by the Athenians, but* Δήμους, which they tranſlate *Populus*, better in my mind *Oppida*, or Towns. *Cicero ad* [d] *Atticum, Venio ad Piræea in quo magis reprehendendus ſum, quòd homo Romanus Piræa ſcripſerim non Piræum (ſic enim omnes noſtri locuti ſunt) quàm quòd M addiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præpoſui, ſed ut de loco: & tamen Dionyſius noſter, qui eſt nobiſcum, & Nicias Cous, non rebatur oppidum eſſe Piræea, ſed de eo videro. Noſtrum quidem ſi eſt peccatum, in eo eſt, quòd non ut de oppido locutus ſum, ſed ut de loco: ſecutúſque ſum non dico Cæcilium, Mane ut ex portu in Piræeum (malus enim auctor Latinitatis eſt) ſed Terentium, cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam ſermonis putabantur à Cajo Lælio ſcribi.* Heri aliquot adoleſcentuli coimus in Piræeum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captum de Sunio. *Quòd ſi δήμους oppida volumus eſſe, tam eſt oppidum* Sunium *quàm* Piræeus. If ſo be we will have Δήμους to be Towns, *Sunium* aswell as *Piræeus* is a Town. Theſe were formerly Kingdoms, as * *Pauſanias* teſtifies. Γέγραπται δὴ δήμοι, ἧν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις φάραι πολλαὶ, ὡς καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐβασιλεύοντο οἱ Κέκροπος. Moreover, I have written, that ſome of the Towns were governed by a King before the reign of *Cecrops*. And no marvel, for ſome of them far ſurpaſſed other Cities, as [f] *Ariſtides* affirmeth. Theſe were moſt peculiar to the *Athenians*, anciently called Ναυκλάρειοι, as [g] *Ariſtoph. Schol.* or Ναυκράειοι, as [h] *Pollux*, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But *Cliſthenes* changed them

[c] Thomas Magiſter.

[d] *Lib. 7. Ep. 3.*

* Atticis, p. 30. l. 42.

[f] *In* Panath. *T. 1. p. 326.*

[g] *Nub. pag. 225. c.*

[h] *L. 8. p. 430.*

them into Δήμους as out of *Aristotle* the *Schol.* of *Aristoph.* The number of them is, as [i] *Eustathius* out of *Strabo* and [k] *Casaubon*, an hundred seventy four. Some whereof having the same name are distinguished according to their situations, καθύπερθεν and ὑπένερθεν, as we may say the upper and lower *Wakefield*, &c. All of them are divided into Greater and Lesser. The [l] μικροὶ or less are these, *Alimusii, Zoster, Prospaltii, Anagyrasii, Cephale, Prasieis, Lampreis, Phlyeis, Myrrinusii, Athemoneis, Acharnæ, Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnus.* The rest were greater. Take them promiscuous according to their Tribes.

[i] *In* Il. 6'. p. 215.
[k] *In* Athenæum. *l.* 6. *c.* 9.
[l] Pausan. Attic. pag. 30.

ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙ'Σ.

Αἰξωνή, Δαιδαλίδαι, Ἐπικείδαι, Ξυπέτη, Πίθος, Συπαλήττιος, Τριναμεῖς, Ἀθμονὶς ἢ Ἀθμονία, Ἀλαί, Αἰξωνίδαι, Φλύα, *Æxone, Dædalidæ, Epiceidæ, Xypete, Pithus, Sypalettus, Trinemei, Athmonon* or *Athmonia, Alæ, Æxonides, Phlya.*

ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙ'Σ.

Ἀγραύλη ἢ Ἀγρύλη, Εὐώνυμία ἢ Εὐώνυμος, Θημαικοὶ ἢ Θήμακος, Κηφισία, Λαμπρεῖς καθύπερθεν, Λαμπρεῖς ὑπένερθεν ἢ παράλιος, Παμβωτάδαι, Περγασῆς, Συβρίδαι, Φηγοῦς, Ἀναγυροῦς, *Agraule* or *Agryle, Euonymia* or *Euonymus, Themaci* or *Themacus, Cephisi,* The upper *Lampra,* The lower *Lampra,* in which *Sigonius* errs, calling one the Maritimate, the other the Inferiour, which to be one and the same I have shewed above, *Pambotadæ, Pergasæ, Sybridæ, Phegus, Anagyrus.*

ΠΑΝΔΙΟΝΙ'Σ.

Ἀγγελή, Κυδαθηναιον, Κύθηρον, Ὠα ἢ Ὠεῖς, Παιανιὰ καθύπερθεν, Παιανιὰ ὑπένερθεν, Περιθοίδαι, Στειριαὶ, Φηγαία, Μυρρινοῦς, *Angele, Cydatheneum, Cytharum, Oa* or *Oeis,* the upper *Pæania,* the under *Pæania, Probalinthus, Stiria, Phegæa, Myrrhinus.*

ΑΙΓΗΙ'Σ.

Ἀλαὶ, Ἀραφηνίδες, Ἀεθφιω, Βατὴ, Γραμπτὸς, Διομεία, Ἐρεχθία, Ἐρικία, Ἐχελιδαὶ, Ἐχεία, Ἰκαρία ἢ Ἰκάριος, Κολυτὸς, Κυδαντίδαι, Πλωθειὰ, Τίθρας, Φηγαία, Φιλαίδαι, Χολλίδαι, *Alæ, Araphenides, Araphen, Bate, Gradettus, Diomæa, Erectthia, Ericria, Echria, Icharia* or *Icarius, Ionidæ, Colyttus, Cydantidæ, Plothea, Tithras, Phegæa, Philadæ, Collidæ.*

Ἀ. Κ. Α-

ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΣ.

Ἀγνᾶς, Εἰρεσίδαι, Ἑρμὸς ἢ Ἑρμοῖ, Ἡφαιστιάδαι, Θόρικθ, Ἰτέα, Κίκυννα, Σφηττὸς, Χόλαργθ, Χόλαργοι, Χολαργία, Κεφαλὴ, Πεζαπλία, *Agnus, Erisidæ, Hermus* or *Hermi, Hephæstiadæ, Thoricus, Itea, Cicynna, Sphettus, Cholargus, Cholargi, Cholargia, Cephale, Prespalta.*

ΑΙΕΟΝΤΙΣ.

Αἰθαλίδαι, Αἰθαλία, Ἀφίδνα, Δῃράδες, Ἑκάλη, Σύπυρίδαι, Κηφῖσοί, Κρωπία, Λεύκιννον, Οἷον Κέραμ. Παιονίδαι, Πήλυκες, Πόλαμὸς, Σκαμβωνίδαι, Σύνιον, Ὕβα, Ὑβάδαι, Φρεάρροι, Μαραθὼν, Ἄλιμὸς, *Æthalidæ, Æthalia, Aphidna, Dirades, Hecale, Sypyridæ, Cetti, Cropia, Leuconium, Oeum Ceramicum, Pæonidæ, Pelaces, Potamus, Scambonidæ, Sunium, Hyba, Hybadæ, Phrearri, Marathon, Alimus.*

ΙΠΠΟΘΟΟΝΤΙΣ.

Ἀζηνιὰ, Ἀμαξαντία, Ἀνάκαια, Ἀχαρδὴς, Δεκέλεια, Ἐλαιοῦς, Ἐλαιῶς, Ἐλευσὶς, Ἑρχιάδαι, Θυμοιτάδαι, Κηφισιάδαι, Κοθυδαλλὶς, Οἷον Δέκελ. Οἷον Ἐλευθ. Σφενδάλη, *Azenia, Amaxantea, Anacæa, Achardus, Decelia, Elæeus, Eleusis, Arcæadæ, Thymœtadæ, Ceriadæ, Corydallus, Oeum Decelicum, Oeum* ad *Eleutheras, Sphendale.*

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣ.

Αἰγιλία ἢ Αἰγιλιθ, Ἀλωπεκὴ ἢ Ἀλωπεκαὶ, Ἀμφιτρόπη, Ἀνάφλυστος, Ἀτιλὼν ἢ Ἀτιλία, Βάτη, Θερεὰ, Κριὸα, Λευκοπύρα, Μελαινεῖς ἢ Μέλαιναι, Παλλήνη, Πεντέλη, Σημαχίδαι, Φάληρον, *Ægilia,* or *Ægilus, Alopece* or *Alopecæ, Amphitrope, Anaphlystus, Atene* or *Atenia, Bessa, Thoræ, Criöa, Leucopyra, Melæneis* or *Melænæ, Pallene, Pentele, Sammachidæ, Phalerum.*

ΑΙΑΝΤΙΣ.

Οἰνόη Μαραθ. Τλαυκίδαι, Τρικόρυθθ, Ραμνοῦς, *Oenöe* at *Marathon, Titacidæ, Tricorythus, Rhamnus.* Of this Tribe were some Towns taken away and put to other, *Aphidna, Persidæ,* &c.

ΟΙΝΗΙΣ.

Βάτεια, Βυλαίδαι, Ἐπικηφισία, Θρία ἢ Θρίαι, Ἱπποθομαίδαι, Λακία, Λακιάδαι, Λυσιὰ, Μελίτη, Οἰὴ ἢ Οἴη, Περιθοίδαι, Πτελέα, Φυλὴ, Ἀχαρνὰ, Τυρμίδαι, *Butea, Butadæ, Epicephisia, Thria* or *Thrio, Hyppotomadæ, Lacia, Laciadæ, Lusia, Melite, Oë* or *Oea, Perithoidæ, Ptelea, Phyle, Acharna, Tyrmidæ.*

ΠΤΟ-

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ'Σ.

Βερενικίδαι, Θυργωνίδαι, *Berenicidæ, Thyrgonidæ.* Κορθύλη, *Corthyle.*

'ΑΤΤΑΛΙ'Σ.

'Απολλωνιεῖς, *Apollonienſes.*

Theſe are all which Authours make mention of, according to their Tribes, others there are which I know not how to diſtribute, none of the ancients either directing or furniſhing me. But theſe are they, *Agra, Anchesmus, Amphiade, Archilæa, Aſtypalæa, Atalanta, Achardus, Belbina, Brauron, Brileſſus, Enna, Echelidæ, Zoſter, Trion, Calæ, Cedæ, Cothocidæ, Cocle, Cynoſarges, Ceramicus* without the City, the ſame with *Academia, Laurium, Lenæum, Limnæ, Munichia, Parnes, Pnyx, Patroclus* his ditch or trench. *Scirum, Sporgilus, Hydruſa, Hymettus, Hyſiæ, Phaurea, Phormiſii, Phrittii, Phoron, Chitone, Oropus.* To which are put the Iſlands called *Pharmacuſæ*, two in number, and *Pſyttallia.* The Scholiaſt of [m] *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaks as if *Io* were a *Demus*, but I ſay not with him. The greateſt uſe we have of theſe among Authours, is in their form of Law, matters of Contracts, and the like, that there might be no fraud or deceit, that none either unjuſtly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence reade we of ſuch punctual Clauſes in their Writs, *N.* the Son of *N.* dwelling at *Alopeca* ἐν Κοίλης, ἐν Μελίτης, ἐν Κεραμέων, of *Calæ*, of *Melite*, of *Cerameis.* In theſe Villages were Temples of the Gods. [n] *Livy: Templa pagatim ſacrata.* And again, *Delubra ſibi fuiſſe, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis caſtellis viiſque conſecrata, ne in unam quidem urbem contributi majores ſui deſerta relinquerent.* So much witneſſeth [o] *Pauſanias*, who tells us, that they worſhipped ſome peculiar Deity; and yet nevertheleſs did [p] 'Αθηναῖοι ἄγειν ἐν τιμῇ, *honour Minerva.* Some of them had peculiar Feſtivals, as *Brauron* the ſolemnities of *Brauronæa*, to *Diana. Diomea*, to *Jupiter Diomeus. Chitonia*, &c.

[m] *In Ranis.* p. 235.

[n] *Dec.* 4. *l.* 1. p. 12, 13.

[o] *In* Atticis p. 77. *l.* 40.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

Τυραννὶς, Ὀλιγαρχία, Δημοκρατία. *Athenienſium ſtatus mutatio.* Ἱερεὺς Σωτήρων Μέγας. Δόξ.

THE ancients had but three ſorts of Government, *Tyrannis, Democratia, Oligarchia,* as [a] *Æſchines*; which *Polybius* calls Βασιλείαν, Ἀριστοκρατείαν, Δημοκρατίαν, where although the one names it a *Tyrannis* or Tyranny, the other Βασιλεία, the rule of a King, yet muſt we underſtand the ſame. For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* on *Virgil* hath obſerved. A word taken up by the *Græcians* about the time of *Archilochus*, which neither *Homer* nor *Heſiod* knew; and therefore are the Poets noted, as, ἰδὼν τὸ παπταῖνοντες, for calling the Kings, or Βασιλεῖς before the Trojan Wars, Tyrants or *Tyrannos*. Βασιλεία or a Kingdom, is where obeiſance is free; yielded rather out of a good advice, than for fear, or might. Ἀριστοκρατεία Ariſtocraty, when moſt wiſe and juſt men are fitly choſen to ſit at the Helm of the Wealpublick. Δημοκρατεία a Democraty, when the Laws and cuſtoms of the Country in matters both belonging to Gods and men are truly obſerved, and that rules the roſt, which ſhall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ δόξαν τοῖς πλείοσι, ſays *Polybius*; as that may be ſaid at a banquet to pleaſe all, which doth reliſh well with the moſt. But the grave Hiſtorian hath obſerved changes in ſuch Government, as they uſe to be inclining to the worſt; Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies, as when the people are led away by the perſwaſions of ſome pleaſing [b] popular man, and are as it were, willingly conſtrained to take the yoke that his uſurping authority ſhall lay on them. A Tyrant indeed is ſaid, [c] *Vi conſecutus*, who gets it by violence, [d] *Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetuâ in ea civitate, quæ libertate uſa eſt*; *But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetual authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty.* The deprivation of which cauſing murmuring and rebellion, bring

[a] *In* Cteſiphontem. *p.* 4.

[b] Ariſtot. 1. *Pol. l.* 5. *c.* 4.

[c] Probus *in* Miltiade.

[d] Probus *ib. pag.* 17.

brings forth an *Ariſtocraty*, or government of the beſt men, ſuch as are well brought up and exerciſed in vertue. The end of an *Ariſtocraty* being as * *Ariſtotle* hath it, *Vertue*, which being of no long continuance doth ſoon degenerate, [f] εἰς Ὀλιγαρχίαν πρατείσης καὶ εὐσιν, *naturally inclining to an Oligarchy*, or rule of few. Theſe few being choſen according to their riches. And becauſe that many in a State cannot be wealthy, therefore the number of them cannot be great. Theſe are great Lords, and little Kings, whoſe power ſways all, and not the Laws; who unjuſtly favour thoſe that are partially theirs, and oppreſs them that would defend their liberty againſt them. All things being adminiſtred [g] τοῖς τῶν ἐπιστατῶν, *by their Preſidents*. Such dominion is taken away by the people ſet on rage, not bearing τὰς τῶν προεστώτων ἀδικίας, *the injuries of their Rulers*. Hence comes in a *Democraty*, which *Sophocles* calls ὀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους λόγοι, *the power of a multitude*, whoſe end is freedom, when all can equally partake of the ſame privileges and immunities, who are true Citizens: whence *Terence* ſtyles it *æquam libertatem*; for which the *Greek Oratours* have properly uſed the word Πολιτεία, as [h] *Ulpian* obſerveth. But the vulgar for the moſt part ſtrangely inſolent, prone to wrong, and ready to treſpaſs againſt the Laws, bring in by a miſerable proceeding, the worſt kind of Government an *Ochlocraty*, the Rule of Raſcality. All theſe in their times did *Athens* feel, for they were governed by Kings four hundred eighty ſeven years: the laſt of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight between the *Dorienſes* and *Athenians* offered himſelf willingly to be ſlain, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorienſes* ſhould be conquerours unleſs the *Athenian* King were killed; he therefore cloathing himſelf *famulari veſte ne poſſet agnoſci*, ſays [i] *Cicero*, *with a ſervant's habit leſt he ſhould be knowa*, put himſelf among the enemies, by one of which in a brawl he was murthered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, [k] *quod memoriæ nominis ejus tributum eſt*, *which was done in memory to his name*. For after that, *Archontes* or *Judges* ruled in Title Ἄρχοντες, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whoſe authority was for term of life. Theſe

* *Pol. l. 4. c. 9.*

[f] Polyb. *l. 6.*

[g] Æſchines *in* Cteſ.

[h] *In* Demoſt. *p. 59.*

[i] *Tuſc. Q. l. 1.*

[k] Juſtin. *l. 2.*

continued three hundred and fifteen years. These being ended, it pleased the State to chuse a man, whose Office should continue but ten years; seven succeeded each other, and made up the number of seventy years; who, because they abused their power, were made but for one year, called therefore [1] *annui Magistratus, yearly Magistrates.* These continued untill *Pisistratus* for a feigned fear of the Seditious, begged a guard of the people for his safety; For when the Faction sprung up, of which I have spoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himself with lashes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, ἀγορὰν, and beseeching the people to afford him some defence against their violence, who did (but did not) assault him, procured a company of chosen Citizens, who armed with clubs, not weapons, possessed the Castle, and so Tyranny came in, which *Pisistratus* enjoyed thirty [m] years, and deceased, leaving behind him two Sons, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*. *Hipparchus* was slain by *Aristogiton*, after whose death the *Athenians* lived under a tyranny four years, from which they were delivered by the help of the *Lacedemonians*, the off-spring of [n] *Alcmæon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whensoever they came for counsel he should wish them to free the *Athenians* of that servitude. The *Democraty* came in eight hundred sixty eight years after *Cecrops*, established by *Solon*, who excluded the fifth rank of plebeity from office or honour by a Law, afterwards abrogated by *Aristides*. After this, *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocraty* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sicily*, the Τετρακόσιοι or four hundred took upon them state, deceiving the people, as [o] *Aristotle* and [p] *Thucydides* affirm. For perswading them that they should reconcile *Tissaphernes* and *Alcibiades* unto themselves by that means, and that the Persian Monarch would afford supply for the War, they most willingly condescended to this motion in the one and twentieth year of the *Peloponnesian* War. These Princes were called [q] πεντακισχιλίους, τετρακοσίους δ' ὀλίγους, *Five thousand, though not exceeding four hundred.* The reason is, because they boasted

[1] Justin. *l.* 2.

[m] Heraclides *in* Pol.

[n] Herodotus. *l.* 5. *p.* 135.

[o] *Pol. c.* 57.

[p] *Lib.* 8.

[q] Plat. *in* Alcib. *p.* 148.

boasted that none should be rewarded, but who bare arms; nor any admitted to publick power but five thousand, such as with person and estate could be beneficial to the Republick. Their authority was granted by an [r] Act of the *people*, to which *Theramenes* was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive them out; whereupon they termed him Κόθορνον, *Cothurnum*, from a kind of Start-up which did fit both feet; † ᾧ γὰρ ὁ Κόθορνος· ἀμφοῖν μὴ τοῖς ποσὶν ἁμαρτάνειν δοκεῖ. The word may suite with a Jack-of-both-sides. These Τριακόσιοι were constrained for fear of [t] *Alcibiades* to resign the right unto the people, and to go into wilfull banishment. But when *Lysander* had overcome *Athens* (the [v] *Lacedemonians* ever affecting an *Oligarchy*, as the *Athenians* a *Democraty*) he ordained these thirty to be chief. [x] *Polyarches, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclides, Hiero, Mnesilochus, Chremo, Theramenes, Aresias, Diocles, Phædrias, Charileos, Anatius, Piso, Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomocles, Theognis, Æschines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Erasistratus, Phido, Dracontides, Eumathes, Aristoteles, Hippomachus, Mnesithides.* These began at first to put to death the worst and most abhorred, says [y] *Salust*, without trial of Law, but afterwards the good and bad alike; [z] some for envy, others for riches. These to make their party firm, chose about three thousand, to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, disarming all the rest, to the end they might easily command their lives. But by their Laws for they made some, styled [a] καιναὶ νόμοι, which were nullified by a Decree, (as we shall speak hereafter) none was to suffer ἐντὸς χιλίων, who was registred in the list of the three thousand. So cruel were they, that the people fled into [b] *Phyle* a Castle in the *Athenians* borders, and making a head under the conduct of *Thrasybulus*, at last shook off this yoke, and remained free untill the death of *Alexander*, even fourscore years, whom *Antipater* succeeded; who in Battel at the City *Lamia* gave the *Athenians* an overthrow; and gave them quarters on these terms, that they should submit to a few *Peers*, whose Revenues amounted to two thousand *Drachms* at least, the chief of whom was *Demetrius Phalareus*; that they

[r] Xen. Ἑλλ. ϛ'. 274. *l.* 38.

† Xen. *p.* 275.

[t] Justin. *l.* 5.

[v] Arist. *Pol. l.* 5. *c.* 7.

[x] Xen. Ἑλλ. ϛ'. *p.* 270.

[y] *In* Catil. *Consp.*

[z] Xen. *p.* 272.

[a] Xen. *p.* 273.

[b] Dem. *p.* 467.

they ſhould likewiſe receive a Garriſon into *Munychia* for the aſſwaging of riots and uproars. But four years after, *Antipater* dying, the City fell into the power of *Caſſander*, of whom they often ſtrove to acquit themſelves: But in vain. For he brought them to ſuch an exigency, that they were glad to come to compoſition. And indeed he dealt fairly with them, giving them their City, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, ſo that they would be Confederates to him, that none, whoſe Revenues come not to ten *minæ* or pounds, ſhould undergo any function in the Commonweal; and he ſhould be their Overſeer whom he would be pleaſed to nominate. The man appointed was *Demetrius Phalareus*, [c] who made the City to ſhine in her full luſtre, inſomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundred Statues. He wrote a Treatiſe of the *Athenian Republick*, which had not time devoured, would have given no ſmall light to my poor endeavours. After he in trouble and vexation had ſpent fourteen years, he was put out by *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, ſirnamed *Poliorcetes*, who reſtored the ancient Cuſtoms to them again. To him they aſcribed ſuch worſhip, as alſo to his Father, that they changed the name of their *Judge* from *Archon* into [d] Σωτήρων Ἱερέα, The Prieſt of the Gods that ſaved them, calling the year after his name, and adding * two Tribes to the Ten, whence the Senate conſiſted of ſix hundred, but five before, as [f] *Stephanus*. But when *Caſſander* had overthrown the Son and Father, ſuch was the ingratitude and levity of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach near their City. After this *Lacharis* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*; whom they utterly caſt off, aſſuming again the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying, *Antigonus Gonatus* ſucceeded, who in the nineteenth year of his reign put in preſidiary Souldiers to the City, which ten years after he took out. The *Macedonians* ſtill kept ſome of the *Athenians* forces in this ſpace. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon. F.* & *Antigonus Doſon*, out of whoſe hands [g] *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* reſcued the City, and made it ſtand by it ſelf untill *Philip*, the laſt King of the *Macedonian Monarchy* except one, did ſomewhat ſhake

[c] *Vide* Laert. *in Vita &* Strabonem.

[d] Plut. *in* Demetrio.

* Pollux. *l.* 8.

[f] *In* Berenice.

[g] Plut. *in Vita.*

ſhake it, as you may reade in [h] *Livy*. But he was expelled by the Romans, who took the *Athenians* into league, with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they remained untill the War between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*. For by fear they were driven to receive [i] *Archeſtratus*, *Mithridates* his General, within their Walls; againſt which *Sylla* laid ſiege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded διελὴς ϛοαγὴ, *a mercileſs ſlaughter*, ſays *Appian*, that the [k] ſtreets did run with bloud. But the Laws were not much altered by this Conquerour; and therefore they lived in a near reſemblance of their former ſtate; in favour with the *Roman* Emperours, *Julius Cæſar*, *Adrian*, *Antonius*, *Gallienus*; in whoſe ſucceſſour's time, *Claudius* the ſecond of that name, the [l] City was ranſacked by the *Gothes*, who when they had heaped up innumerable companies of Books to burn, were dehorted by this reaſon, *That the Greeks, ſpending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for War.* *Conſtantine* the *Great*, likewiſe had this City in high eſteem, taking to himſelf the Title of Στρατηγὸς Ἀθηνῶν, as [m] *Julian* ſays, which in the words of [n] *Nicephorus Greg.* is τὸ τῆς μεγάλης δεκὸς (ὄνομα) the *Grand Duke*, whom ſimply afterwards they called the [o] *Duke of Athens*, in that Hiſtorian's time. Emperours have taken them Wives, Citizens of this place, and the [p] Daughters of their *Dukes* have been deſired by that eminent rank. And indeed no marvel; For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus*, is ſaid to have taken the City from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, [q] ἔσχον δὲ ὃ καὶ πρώτῳ οἱ Ἱσπανοὶ; who having no iſſue male of his Wife *Eubois*, but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by another woman, bequeathed by will *Bœotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the *Venetians*, from whom his Son recovered it again. *Nerius* ſucceeded him in the *Dukedom*, who thruſt out *Chalcocondylas* his Father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius*, Brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we muſt know that *Mahomet* the Son of *Amurat* the ſecond, got *Athens*, [r] whoſe beauty and building he held in admiration; which when he had made his own, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius*, from thoſe

[h] *Decad. 4. l. 1.*

[i] *Vide* Appianum Alex. *in Mithridatico, circa p. 122, 123, &c.*

[k] Plut. *in Vita. p. 335.*

[l] Cedrenus Baptiſta Egnatius. *Rom. Prin. l. 1.*

[m] *In Oratione ad* Conſtantium.

[n] *Hiſt. Rom. l. 7. p. 166.*

[o] *Hiſt. Rom. l. 7. p. 167.*

[p] Nic. Greg. *lib. citat.*

[q] Chalcocon. Κελτίζηες ἀπὸ Νεγρέπεως.

* *In the time of* Pietro Zani *came Ambaſſadours from* Athens *to doe homage to the* Venetian Senate. *M.* Lukenor *in the Hiſtory and Lives of the Venetian Princes.*

[r] Chalcocon. *l. 9. p. 299.*

thoſe above-named dying, leaving one Son an Infant, his Mother in the Child's Title exerciſed Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (Son to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whoſe Government the City *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Chalcocondylas*, *Priamus*) who came thither for Merchandize. Him, by diſcourſe and flattery, ſhe entiſed into her love, promiſing that ſhe would take him to her Husband, and give up the Princedom of *Athens* to him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his own Wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* ſlew his Wife, ſwelling with ambition, and thirſty of honour. Which being done, he returns to *Athens*, marries this woman, enjoys the Government of the City; who being hated of the *Athenians*, and complained of at the Court, to avoid envy termed himſelf the *Child*'s Tutor. And not long after taking the Boy with him, went to the Court; where *Francus Acciajolus* waited, expecting to be promoted to the Dukedom. When the Emperour therefore underſtood the folly of the woman, he gave the Title to him. Who being enſtalled, impriſoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by means not known to the † Authour) ſlew her. This *Francus* in time was taken away from men by *Zogan* Governour of *Peloponneſus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the City to the Prince of *Bœotia*. He was the laſt Duke.

† Chalcocon. pag. 300.

LIBER

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAP. I.

Duodecim Dii Athenienſium. Idololatria ſeptifariam commiſſa. Dii Adſcriptitii. Θεὸς ἄγνωστος.

HErodotus in [a] *Terpſichore* is of opinion, that the Greeks derived their Religion from the *Ægyptians*. But [b] *Plutarch* doth ſtoutly deny it. And not without good teſtimony may I affirm that it ſeems to be a falſity. For *Orpheus* is thought to have brought the Myſteries of Piety into *Greece*; who was himſelf a *Thracian*, from whom the word δεισιδαιμονία is ſuppoſed to be drawn, which ſignifies *Devotion*. [c] Τοῦτο ἦν τὸ πᾶσιν Θεοὺς ἐκάλεσαν δεισιδαίμονας, ὡς Θρᾳκίας ὄντας τὴν εὑρέσεως, ſays [d] *Nonnus*. They called δεισιδαίμονας, to worſhip God, *&c.* Appoſitely to which * *Ariſtophanes* ἐν Βαβυλωνίοις.

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς ἡμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι,

Orpheus ſhewed us Sacrifices, and to abſtain from ſlaughter.

Neither is [f] *Euripides* diſagreeing in *Rheſo*.

Μυσταγωγοὺς τε τοὺς ἀπορρήτων φόνων
Ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς——

Orpheus revealed the hidden Myſteries.

Herodotus names not the Gods, the worſhip of whom the *Greeks* might borrow from the *Ægyptians*; Twelve in number they were, quoth he, but theſe onely are reckoned, [g] *Jupiter, Bacchus, Hercules, Apollo, Mars, Pan, Diana, Iſis* or *Ceres, Sais* or *Minerva, Latona*. As I have gathered; which all at once have been made known to the *Greeks*, and that by the *Ægyptians* is too hard a task for me to prove. The *Atheni-*

[a] *Pag.* 48.

[b] *In Tractatu* περὶ Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας. *p.* 669.

[c] *Sch.* Eurip. *in* Alceſt. *p.* 661.

[d] Ξωσαγ' ἰστορ. *in Stel.* 1.

* *Pag.* 260.

[f] *Pag.* 281.

[g] Pauſ. Attic. *p.* 3. *l.* 8.

Athenians I am ſure had twelve Gods in ſpecial honour, whoſe pictures they had drawn out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*; and had an Altar erected, called [h] Βωμὸς τῶν δώδεκα Θεῶν, on which a little before the *Sicilian* War, a man diſmembred himſelf with a ſtone; which was accounted prodigious. By theſe twelve would they ſwear in common diſcourſe; [i] Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα Θεούς. The Heathens thinking that they did honour thoſe Gods, by whom they ſwear; as I have elſewhere ſpoken. But they were not confined to ſo ſmall a number as twelve. For how could it be, when they ran through the ſeven ſorts of Idolatry? Firſt, worſhipping the Sun, and puniſhing with death the neglect thereof, as you may reade in *Plutarch* in the Life of *Pericles*. Secondly, deifying the effect of God, as Bread, &c. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* interprets Δηὼ, *Ceres*, ἀπὸ τοῦ σίτου Corn, or Food. Thirdly, the poetical Gods, [k] *Furies and revengers of wickedneſs*, as *Alaſtores*, *Palamnæi*. Fourthly, the Paſſions, as *Love*, *Pity*, *Injury* likewiſe and *Impudence*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens*. Fifthly, the accidents of growth and nouriſhment, hence *Axo* and *Thallo* two Deities, from αὐξάνειν, *to increaſe*, and θάλλειν, *to flouriſh*; to which may be put *Clotho*, *Lacheſis* and *Atropos* the three fatal Siſters, and εἱμαρμένη, *neceſſity*, taken ſometimes for death it ſelf. Sixthly, the Theogony or pedigree of their Gods, able to make up the ſum of which *Homer* ſpeaks, Τρὶς γὰρ μύριοι, &c. *Three thouſand*. Seventhly, an ignorance of the providence and bounty of God toward them, feigned *Hercules* the repeller of evil, and *Eſculapius* the God of Phyſick. And if this ſerve not, I can add an eighth way, namely hoſpitality and good entertainment of ſtrange Gods. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὥσπερ τοῖς τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενοῦσι διαλεληθεν, ὅτω καὶ τοῖς τῶν Θεῶν, ſays [l] *Strabo*, *As the Athenians love ſtrangers, ſo foreign Gods.* Οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον τοὺς παρεπιδημήσαντας ἀεὶ τῶν Θεῶν, &c. [m] *Ariſtides*; *For they ſerve not onely the moſt ancient Deities*, in a peculiar manner above all their followers, but have aſſumed adventitious ones; ſuch as † *Orthane*, *Coniſſalus* and *Tychon*. So prone were they to conceive Superſtition, that when [n] *Paul* preached *Jeſus and the Reſurrection of the dead*; they forthwith deemed *Anaſtaſin*,

[h] Plut. *in* Nicia. *p.* 387. *l.* 26.

[i] Ariſtoph. *Eq.* *p.* 300. A.

[k] *Vide* Bodinum *in Demenologia.*

[l] *Pag.* 471.

[m] *In* Panath. *T.* 1. *p.* 188.

† Strab. *p.* 587.

[n] *Act. Apoſt.* *c.* 17. *v.* 18.

ſtaſin, or Reſurrection, to be a God. And leſt they ſhould omit any, they erected Altars to the unknown Gods, of which [o] *Pauſanias*. Neither may we doubt of it, the Scriptures bearing witneſs. The cauſe of this they ſay to be a fearfull Viſion appearing to *Philippides*, ſent Ambaſſadour to the *Lacedemonians* concerning aid againſt the *Perſians*, and complaining that he ([p] *Pan*, from whom Πανικὸν, *Spectrum*) was neglected, and other Gods worſhipped; promiſing likewiſe his help: they therefore being victorious, and fearing the like event, built a Temple and Altar TO THE UNKOWN GOD. Another opinion is, that a Plague being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the Gods they implored, ſurmiſing ſome other power to have ſent the Diſeaſe, whereupon they ſet up this Altar, on which was written, ΘΕΟΙΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΩΠΗΣ, ΚΑΙ ΛΙΒΥΗΣ. ΘΕΩ ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ, ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΩ, TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRICA. TO THE UNKOWN AND STRANGE GOD. As *Juſtin* [q] *Martyr* and *Oecumenius*. Much may be ſaid of their Tutelar Gods, both for their Cities and Houſes, much of their *Heroes* or Demigods. We will view them in order.

[o] *In* Attic. *p.* 1. *l.* 35.

[p] *Vid.* Eurip. *Sch. in* Med. *p.* 482.

[q] *Pag.* 137.

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεὺς, Νέμιος, Ἱκέσιος, Πολιοῦχος, Βουλαῖος, Φράτριος, Φίλιος, Ὁμόγνιος, Καθάρσιος, Ἑρκεῖος, Ἀγοραῖος, Ξένιος. *Modii ſalis edendi, Teſſera hoſpitalis ſeu Symbolum. Apollo* Ἀποτρόπαιος, Πατρῷος, Ἀλεξίκακος, Οὐρεῖος. *Pæan, & ejuſdem verbi origo. Mercurius* Παλαιγενέτης, Ἐριούνιος, Στροφαῖος, Προπύλαιος.

ABove other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high eſteem. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the *Athenians* were bidden to diſſolve their Kingdoms, they were charged to make choice of *Jupiter*, [a] πρεσβυτάτου ὄντα Διὸς

[a] *Sch.* Ariſtoph. *p.* 122.

Δία Βασιλέα. And so by [b] *Aristophanes* he is called Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς. Him they worshipped as *President of Law and Justice*, under the name of *Jupiter* [c] *Nemius* (different from that of *Corinth* named Νέμειος.) Him as *God of Supplicants*; hence [d] Ἱκέσιος. Him as *Protectour of Cities*, hence Πολιοῦχος. Him as *Governour and director of their Councils*, hence Βουλαῖος. Him as *Chief of their Societies*, hence Φράτριος; and of their *Friendship* too, hence Φίλιος; and of *Kindred* likewise, hence Ὁμόγνιος. To him they ascribed *Thunder*, hence * Ζεὺς Καταιβάτης, as much as coming down in Thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their delivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, hence [f] Ἐλευθέριος. Him they confessed *The greatest of all*, hence [g] Ὕπατος. Him *The overseer of their buying and selling*, hence * Ἀγοραῖος. To him stood an Altar sacred in the *Courts of their Houses*, hence *Jupiter Herceus*, from Ἕρκος, a Wall, as if he were the watch and defender of the House. *Phavorinus*, Ἑρκεῖος Διὸς βωμὸς ἔξω πύλης θύρας ἢ αὐλιοῦ, αὐδείου ἦν δοκεῖ, ἐν ᾧ ἔθυσαν Διὶ ἑρκείῳ τῆς ἕρκους. There was also an Altar to him before the Gates, of which [h] *Ovid*,

—— *Ante ædes stabat Jovis Hospitis ara,*

Hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the *God of strangers and hospitality*. So solemn were they in their entertainments, that they would not receive a stranger without great ceremonies, such as giving of the right hand each to other [i] πίστεως σύμβολον, *a most certain sign of fidelity* and security; as also washing and cleansing with salt, or salt water, as [k] *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*; whence it is called ἁγνὸς πάγος. Salt they highly esteemed of, ever upbraiding violated hospitality with [l] πῦ ἅλες, &c. *Where is the salt?* And yet it may be thought to be said of the community of the table [m] ἐδῶν ἧς συμπόσιον μὴ κακουργεῖν τοὺς ὁμοτραπέζους ἢ συνεσίους, *customs shewing that fellow-commoners, and such as feed of the same table, must not injure one another*, to which the old saying may well agree, [n] *Multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiæ munus expletum sit, Men must eat many bushels of salt together, before they can be perfect friends*; meaning that friend-

[b] *In Nubibus.*

[c] Dem. *in* Med. *p.* 251.

[d] Ulpian. *in* Dem. *p.* 273. Paus. *p.* 18. *l.* 40. *Who thinks* Sylla *to be eaten with lice by a judgment, that slew* Aristion *supplicantly flying to the Temple of* Minerva.

*Aristoph. *Avib. p.* 626. Plut. & Paus.

[f] Pausan.

[g] Aristoph.

* *p.* 317.

[h] *Metamorph.*

[i] Eustath. *in* Il. Σ'.

[k] *Pag.* 17. *But* Eustath. *says, that they did set salt before any other meat to strangers.*

[l] Demosth. *p.* 241.

[m] Tzetzes *in* Lycoph. *p.* 28.

[n] Cic. *de Amicitia.* Eustath. *says, that it betokens love permanent. For salt preserves; And as it is made of many lettings in of water, so they who come from divers places by hospitality are made one. In Il.* α'. *p.* 100.

UMI

friendſhip is not to be ſoon eſtabliſhed. But I take ſalt, for the luſtration, to which they alſo added fire, as you may ſee in [o] *Ariſtophanes*. Neither was this all, for they ſacrificed moreover, calling *Jupiter* to witneſs, and uſing theſe words in the time of ſacrifice, [p] Εἰς Διὰ Ξένιον ἁμαρτεῖν, εἰ παροράω ξένους, *Let my treſpaſs be againſt Jupiter Xenius, if I offend, contemn, or neglect ſtrangers.* And for the continuation of this, even to their poſterity they were wont to cut a huckle bone in two, the one party keeping one piece, the other party the other half, that when occaſion or neceſſity ſhould make either of them ſtand in need of other, [q] Ἐπαγόμενοι τὸ ἥμισυ ἀστραγάλιον, ἀναπεσεῖν τε ξένιαν, *Bringing with them their half huckle bone they might renew their hoſpitality.* This they call Σύμβολον, *Symbolum*, a token, which ſometimes they would ſend to their acquaintance in others behalf, as *Jaſon* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea* to do, Πέμπειν τε ξένοις Σύμβολ' οἳ δέξονται σ' εὖ, *And to ſend a Symbolum or token to ſtrangers that ſhall courteouſly entertain you.* But of this enough, as alſo of *Jupiter*, whom celebrated in [r] other Epithets I know by the *Athenians*. *Apollo* was next in requeſt to *Jupiter*, invocated in *danger or ſudden events*, hence † Ἀποτρόπαιος, from ἀποτρέπειν, *to turn away*, as if he ſhould deliver them from imminent evil, for which reaſon he is called *Alexicacus*, [t] *Apollinem aſpellentem mala intelligas, quem Athenienſes* Ἀλεξίκακον *appellant.* He was one of the firſt Gods they had, hence he is termed [v] Πατρῷος: but [x] others think becauſe he was the Father of *Ion*. [y] *Macrobius* is of opinion, becauſe the *Sun*, the ſame with *Apollo*, is the Authour of progenerating all things, *quòd ſol humoribus exiccatis progenerandis omnibus præbuit cauſam.* To him ſtood Altars in their ſtreets, hence he is ἀγυιεύς, as if he were ſet over their ways, [z] *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomeria ſunt* Ἀγυιάς. This *Ageus* was a ſharp Pillar; [a] κίων ὀξὺς ὡς εἰς ὀξὺ λήγων. Although the *Greeks*, as [b] *Macrobius* ſays, did worſhip him as Θυραῖον, *exitûs & introitûs potentem*, one that kept the doors of their houſes; yet I find no monument of that Title in *Pauſanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Pæan*, of which, though I have taken occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere, yet this is a moſt proper place. I will not

[o] *In* Acharn. *pag.* 414. *vide Sch.*
[p] Euſtath. *in* Il. λ'.
[q] Eurip. *Sch. pag.* 446.
[r] As Πολιεύς Ariſtophan. Ὁμόγυιος. Pauſan. *&c.*
† Ariſtoph. Πλ. *l.* 86.
[t] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. *p.* 253.
[v] Ariſtoph. *Nub. p.* 203.
[x] Ariſt. *Sch. p.* 611. g.
[y] *Satur.* 1. *p.* 257.
[z] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. *c.* 9.
[a] *Schol.* Eurip. Phæ. *p.* 322.
[b] *Sat.* 1. *c.* 9.

trouble you with the trivial derivations of the *Greeks*, which you reade in [c] *Athenæus*. When the *Athenians* asked help of the Oracle at *Delphos* againſt the *Amazons*, in the days of *Theſeus*; The God bid them implore his ſuccour in theſe words, Ἰὲ Παιάν. [d] *Hanc vocem, id eſt,* Ἰὲ Παιάν, *confirmâſſe fertur Oraculum Delphicum Athenienſibus, petentibus opem Dei adverſus Amazonas, Theſeo regnante. Namque inituros bellum juſſit his ipſis verbis ſemetipſum auxiliatorem invocari, hortarique.* I doubt not but the words are changed ſomewhat, eſpecially if we conſider the ancient *Io Pæan*. *Pæan*, ſays the [*] *Scholiaſt of Ariſtophanes*, is a Song or Hymn praying for the ceaſing of a Plague, or War, nay, for the preventing of apparent hurt. The original of *Io* [f] *Scaliger* hath already found; *Iao* and *Io* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Jehova*; *Pæan* then comes from פנה to look, ſo that *Io Pæan* is in force *Jehovah Penoh*, LORD LOOK UPON US, it being a craft of the Devil to come as near as poſſible he may to God, ſo to bereave him of his dear honour, if he could. The remnants of theſe words the [g] *Symerons*, a people of the Weſt Indies, uſe, who in their fighting, dance and leap, and ſing *Yo Peho*, at this day. *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of [h] Παλιſκάπηλος or [i] Ἐμπολαῖος, deemed to be the God, whoſe favour could enrich Merchants and Tradeſmen. He is the God of craft, ſo by conſequence he that is cunning to cheat may ſoon grow Rich. Wherefore this God is termed Ἐρμῆς, *very profitable*, from ἔρι, an augmenting word, and ὀνῶ *to profit*. He had a Statue erected to him in the Market-place, called [k] Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος. The entry of their houſes was ſacred to him, from which he is named [l] Προπύλαιος, as likewiſe Στροφαῖος from στρέφειν, *to turn*, becauſe he was ſet up behind the door to keep away Thieves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villany. More of his names you may reade in [m] *Ariſtoph. Schol.*

[c] *In fin. lib.* 14. Dip.

[d] Macrob. *Sat. l.* 1. *c.* 17. *p.*253.

[*] *In* Plut. *p.* 68.

[f] *Græc. Trag.*

[g] *Vide* Sir Fr. Drake.

[h] Ariſtoph. Πλ. *p.* 110. Ach. *pag.* 410.

[i] Ariſtoph. Βατ. *p.* 266.

[k] Ariſtoph. *p.* 304.

[l] Pauſ. *p.* 20. *l.* 35.

[m] *Pag.* 100.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule. Ἄνακτες.

Saturn was worshipped by the *Athenians*, witness the Feasts kept in honour to him, called Κρόνια, witness a *Temple* [a] which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquity I cannot much affirm any thing. He seems to have been of old, as I conjecture out of [b] Κρονικὴ γνώμη, *Saturnina anima*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honour there, and a Temple, of which [c] *Demosthenes*: where was one of the *Athenian* Prisons; some controversies in Law in it decided, as I gather out of [d] *Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient Patron of this City, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for security in Navigation, hence [*] Ἀσφάλειος. [f] *Mars* also had his worship, and Temple, and *Hercules* too; who in a Dream appeared to *Sophocles*, revealing unto him the Sacrilege of one who had stoln a golden Cup out of his Temple: called therefore Μυωπὸς or *Index Herculis*, as [g] *Tully*. Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canonizing more daily, as the Sons of *Tyndarus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, naming them Ἄνακτες. [h] Ἀνακῶς γὰρ ἔχειν τοὺς ὀπιμελωμένους ἢ τυλάττοντας ὁπόν, καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἴσως ἀνακτας διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν, *For they who have a care and watch of any thing do diligently observe it*, ἀνακῶς ἔχειν, *for which Kings perhaps are called* Ἄνακτες, as keepers of their people. [i] The Scholiast of *Euripides* teaches us that Ἄναξ properly signifieth a Saviour. So *Pan* is said to be Ἄναξ Κυλλήνης, *The tutelar God of Cyllene*. And *Apollo* in [k] *Homer*, χρύσας ἴφι ἀνάσσειν. The word is simply put for God in [l] *Aristophanes*, [m] Τὰς ἓν Θεὰς Ἄνακτας καὶ Σωφρόνας καλοῦσιν. To these may be put *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, *Lycus*, *Theseus*, *Alon*, *Hesychius*, *Aristomachus* the Physician, *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom see [n] *Meursius*) made of Men, as *Silanion* and *Perrasius* that made the Statue of [o] *Theseus*.

[a] Paus. *p.* 16. *l.* 32.
[b] Aristoph. Πλ. *pag.* 61.
[c] *P.* 535. *n.* 26.
[d] Παραγ. περὶς Ἀπολ.
[*] Aristoph. *p.* 403.
[f] Paus. *p.* 74 *l.* 27.
[g] *De divinatione. l.* 1.
[h] Plut. Thes. *p.* 11. *l.* 25.
[i] *In* Hippol. *p.* 507.
[k] Iliad. α'.
[l] *In* Avib. *p.* 578.
[m] Eurip. *Sch. p.* 507.
[n] *In* Athen. Att. *l.* 3. *c.* 1. & 7.
[o] Plut *in* Th. *p.* 2. *l.* 14.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Minerva, Cerere & Proſerpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Junone, Prometheo, &c.

MInerva the eſpecial Deity of the *Athenians*, had the Feſtivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully reade in [a] *Meurſius*. Next to her, *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, whoſe rites *longè maximis & occultiſſimis ceremoniis continentur*, † ſays *Cicero*, were greateſt, and moſt hidden: therefore called *myſteria* from [b] μυεῖσθαι, *to hide*; [c] death and a curſe lying on him who ſhould diſcloſe thoſe abominable ſecrets. See *Meurſius* in his [d] *Eleuſinia*, of the initiation into theſe ſtews. They were of two ſorts: * Greater to *Ceres*, leſs to *Proſerpina*. *Bacchus* alſo the Son of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted, and a double Tide holy to him: *Dionyſia* [f] *parva*, and [g] *magna*. *Venus* had her honour and ſacrifice, in which they offered to her [h] money, the price of a Whore. [i] *Eumenides* were firſt adored by *Oreſtes*, after he eſcaped the *Judgment* at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his Mother *Clytemneſtra*. Theſe by [k] *Heſiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* [l] Σεμναὶ Θεαὶ, *The venerable Goddeſſes*. To theſe they offered Drink-offerings, without wine though, at midnight: a cuſtome peculiar to them alone, as [m] *Æſchylus* witneſſeth, though I am not ignorant that [n] *Bacchus* his Feaſts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nyctelius*. But the Tragedian,

[o] Καὶ νυκλίστυπα δεῖπνα ἐπ' ἐχάρα πυρὸς
Ἕδυον ὥραν ἐσευὸς κοινὸν Θεῶν.

Scholiaſt, ἐν ᾧ δὲ πῶ μεσονυκλίῳ μόναις Ἐρινύσιν ἀπέρχρηται. By [p] *Sophocles* the manner of oblation is ſet down. Firſt having clean hands and pure, the worſhipper ought to draw out of a running Fountain, water, and having filled three Cups with water and honey (hence termed [q] νηφάλια μελίγυαλα) the mouths and ears of which are to be covered with the wool of a young ſheep, turning himſelf toward the Eaſt, he poured out ſome of two of them, but the third wholly; then with both hands ſetting thrice nine branches of Olive on

[a] *In* Panath.
† *In* Verrem. 5.
[b] Nonnus *ad* Naz. Στηλ.
[c] *Vid.* Plut. *in* Alcib.
[d] *Cap.* 7.
* Ariſtoph. *Sch. p.* 85.
[f] Ariſt. *p.* 222.
[g] *Id. p.* 223.
[h] Clem. Alex. *p.* 19.
[i] *Vide* Æſch. *in* Eumen. & *Sch.* Soph. *in* Oed. Col.
[k] *In* Theogonia.
[l] Plauſ. *p.* 27. *lib.* 3.
[m] *In* Eumen. *p.* 275.
[n] Ariſtoph. *p.* 228.
[o] *Loco citato.*
[p] *In* Oedipo. Col. *p.* 271.
[q] Æſchylus *loco præd.*

on the place where he caſt his χοὰς, he uttered out his conceived ſupplications. Other ſacrifices they had as ſhall be ſhortly ſpoken. [r] *Hecate* was worſhipped by them in *triviis*, where three ways met; ſuppoſed to be the *Moon* in heaven, *Diana* on the earth, and *Hecate* below. † To her the richer ſort every new Moon made a Feaſt in the croſs ways, ſetting Bread and other proviſion, which the poor greedily fed on, and were ſo ravenous after, that [t] *Penia* in *Ariſtophanes*, complains that they ſnatcht it, before it could be laid down. Reference to this hath Ἐκατοῦς καλεῖσθαι, *To eat the Cates of Hecate*, in [v] *Demoſthenes*, which he ſeems to object as a horrid or wicked thing. Indeed βωμολόχος, which ſignifieth one that privily taketh away any of the ſacrifices from the Altar, imports ſome time *impious*, βωμολόχος, ἀσεβής. *Schol.* [x] *Ariſtoph.* And yet the ſame Scholiaſt tells us that the needy ſuſtained themſelves by the ſacrifices, [y] ὑπὸ φησὶ ἱερῶν γὰρ οἱ πένητες ζῶσιν. *Juno*'s rites were performed in great pomp with hair over their ſhoulders and down the back, in a veſture that ſwept the ground, their arms bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces ſo minced, that [z] Ἡρᾶον βαδίζειν, *Junonium incedere*, is to go ſtately. *Prometheus* was worſhipped in a kind of Torch dance, or running with Links or Lamps; it may be in memorial of the fire, which ſuperſtitiouſly they believed him to have ſtoln out of heaven. To ſay more of their Gods were needleſs either for you to reade, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of later making, introduced by the [a] *Philippides*, and [b] Σφραγίτιδες Νύμφαι, *Sphragitides Nymphæ*, after the *Perſian* overthrow.

[r] *Vide Interp.* Hor. *in illud, Diva triformis.*
† Ariſtoph. *Sch.* p. 63.
[t] *Pag.* 64.
[v] *In Orat.* περὶς κόνωνα. p. 633. n. 59.
[x] *In Nub.* p. 176.
[y] *In* Plut. 63.
[z] *Vid.* Schottum *in* Prov. Iſaac. Caſaub. *in* Athen. *l.* 22. *c.* 5. p. 388.
[a] Clem. Alex. *pag.* 22.
[b] Plut. Ariſt. p. 240. *l.* 30.

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ ἀνθήλιοι. Ἑρμαῖ. *Phacaſiani Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their doors erected Statues which they called [a] Θεοὺς ἀνθηλίους, becauſe they were expoſed to the Sun. Neither had they theſe alone, but certain others

[a] *Vide* Heſychium, & Dionyſium Petavium *in* Themiſt.

others ſacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes*, *Hermæ Mercuriales*. The faſhions of them were divers. For firſt they were not ἀναλελαμμένοι, *porrecto veretro*, but made after that form by the *Athenians*, who received it from the *Pelaſgi*, as [b] *Herodotus*. Neither did they want legs, till the *Athenians* made them ἀκώλους, according to [c] *Pauſanias*. The manner was this, *A face of Mercury ſet upon a pillar of four Corners.* The head onely and neck were ſhapen, and therefore it was called *Truncus Hermes*, [d] *Juvenal*,

Nil niſi Cecropides, truncóque ſimillimus Hermæ,
Nullo quippe alio vincis diſcrimine, quàm quòd
Illi marmoreum caput eſt, tua vivit imago.

For which reaſon likewiſe the *Greeks* name them * ἀγυιὰς, *without limbs.* On the lower parts of them were certain Verſes engraven, concerning the praiſes of ſome well deſerving men; but the *Hermæ* on which they wrote the exploits of thoſe that had merited, ſeem to me to have been ſet up in that Gallery, which from the number of theſe Images was commonly known by Ἑρμῆ Στοὰ, *the Gallery of Mercurials.* At the conſecration of theſe they uſed ſome ceremonies, and ſacrificed a kind of Gruel, which was of no great preparation; becauſe they would not ſtand long about it. Hence Κύτρους ἱδρύεσθαι may be ſaid to ſacrifice with that which coſts but little. [f] *Ariſtophanes*, Κύτρωσιν, ὥσπερ μεμαγμένων Ἑρμίδιον. *Schol.* Ἑρμίδιον, ἀντὶ τῦ εὐτελές. *in Pace.* Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unſeaſonable to add ſomething of the form of their Gods; whom they made ſtanding with their hands upwards, as if they were more willing to receive than beſtow any thing. To which [g] *Ariſtophanes* alludes, ſaying —— κἀγὼ δ' Θεοὺς γνώσεις ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τε κἀγαλμάτων· ὅταν γὰρ εὐχώμεθα δίδοναι τἀγαθὰ, ἔστηκεν ἐκπεπληγμένα τὴν χεῖρ' ὑπτίαν, οὐχ' ὡς τι δώσουσ' ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται, *Even the Gods you ſhall know by their hands and ſtatues. For when we pray them to give us ſome good thing, they ſtand with their hands upward, as if they would not ſend down ſomething, but rather take oblation.* To tell you likewiſe, that theſe Idols were clothed, is no news doubtleſs to one meanly verſed in the Greek Antiquities. To ſay that they wore Shoes

[b] *In* Euterp. *p.* 48.
[c] *In* Atticis. *p.* 22. *l.* 14.
[d] *Sat.* viii. *v.* 53.
* *Vide* Ulpian. *in* Dem. *p.* 332. & G. Langbain *in Notis ad* Longinum, περὶ ὕψους.
[f] *Pag.* 693.
[g] Conc. *p.* 747.

Shoes too is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phacasiani*, from φακασία, a kind of low Shoes which the *Athenians* called καμπάδες, from κόνις *duſt*, and πούς *the foot*, becauſe they were near the ground, διὰ τὸ πολλὴν μοι δοκεῖν τὴν κόνιν τῷ ποδὶ, ſays [h] *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But more ſure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet. [i] *Juvenal*,

Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polycleti,
Phacaſianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.

[h] *Pæd. l. 2. c. 12. p. 152.*
[i] *Sat. 3. v. 217.*

CAP. VI.

De Superſtitione Athenienſium, & Vaticiniis.

LOng ſince were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apoſtle for ſuperſtition, which though it properly ſignifies [a] a worſhipping of the Gods too much, yet under it theſe follies are comprehended. Purification after fearfull dreams, in [b] *Ariſtophanes*, ὄνειρον καθαίρειν. In which ſenſe ſome underſtand *Perſius*: *Noctem lumine purgare*. Wearing of Rings againſt Witchcraft as a Spell, called [c] δακτύλιος φαρμακίτης. [d] Spitting into their boſoms thrice at the ſight of a mad-man; or one troubled with an *Epilepſie*. Of which alſo *Theocritus*, βὶς εἰς ἐμὸν κόλπον πτύσα κόλπον. I know not whether the cuſtome of our filly people have reference to this foppery, who uſe to ſpit at the naming of the Devil. Certain it is, that anciently they did ſpit in defiance, hence πτύειν is put for καταφρονεῖν and ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ λαμβάνειν, *to contemn or ſet little by*, as the * Scholiaſt of *Sophocles* on theſe words, πτύσας ὡσεὶ δυσμενῆ. Waſhing with water the head as often as he ſhall go into the ſtreets, κατὰ κεφαλῆς λούσασθαι, [f] *Theophraſtus*. Anointing of ſtones, divers it ſeems from thoſe heaps ſacred to *Mercury*, termed Ἑρμαῖα. This hath been of old done indeed as a token of thankfulneſs by [g] *Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he took the ſtone that he put for his pillow, and ſet it up, and poured oil on the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram*. Hens crowing; the bold entrance of a black dog into their

[a] Donat. *in* Ter. *p. 67.*
[b] *Ranis, p. 274. vide & Æſch. in Perſis.*
[c] Ariſtoph. *Pl. p. 88. f.*
[d] Theoph. *Ch. pag. 49.*
* Antigonen.
[f] *Charact.*
[g] Gen. 28. 18.

houſes; ſerpents ſeen ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ſays *Theophraſtus*, of which [a] *In* Phor. *Ac.* 4. *Sc.* 4.

[b] *Terence. Introiit in ædes ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit.* Put to theſe a [c] Γαλῆ. Theoph. Cat or Weezle (the word ſignifieth both) croſſing his way, the mouſe eating his ſalt bag. Not unlike them now adays, whoſe clothes the rats or mice ſhall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he ſhall have great ill betide him. Add the avoiding of Obſequies for fear of polluting. Antiquity was of opinion that ſacred perſons were defiled with the ſight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath obſerved, and [k] *Euripides* brings in *Diana* ſpeaking that it is not lawfull for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay, the ſtanding upon a grave was great Religion; ὀπιζόπεδα μνήματα. Farthermore obſerving of days good and bad, of which [l] *Heſiod*, ἄλλη μητρυιὰ, ἄλλη δὲ μήτηρ; *that one is a ſtepdame, another a mother.* [m] Amazement at the Eclipſe of the Sun, as alſo the [n] Moon; not knowing the reaſon, why ſhe did looſe her light at that time, when ſhe was in her full luſtre. Buying of Medicines or enchanted Stones for the quicker delivery in Child-birth, in *Ariſtophanes*, ὠκυτόκιον ὠνησάμενος. Of the virtue I ſpeak nought. [o] *Boemus* relates, that in *Darien* in *America* the women eat an herb when they are great with Child which makes them to bring forth without pain. Joyn to this the ſneezing over the right ſhoulder or the right ſide, [p] πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν. Obſervation of [q] *Schol.* of *Ariſtophanes* interprets it, ſnow, hail, or the like. [r] Cutting off their hair, and ſacrificing it to rivers, as *Cephiſſus*. Marking the flight of the Owl, whence came the Proverb, † γλαῦξ ἔπτατο, *The Owl hath fled.* And γλαῦξ ἵπταται, for good luck. The Owl being a token of Victory to the *Athenians*, [s] ἡ πῆσις τῆς γλαυκὸς νίκης σύμβολον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐνόμιζεν. They ever accounting it ſo ſince the War at *Salamis*, where the *Greeks* ſeeing an Owl took courage and beat the *Barbarians*. *Appendix Vaticana*, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ ταύτης ἀναφθείσης θαρρήσαντες Ἕλληνες ἐνίκησαν. Other madneſs of theirs was [t] ſleeping in the Temple of *Æſculapius*, who were ill at eaſe, ſuppoſing the Deity to give, or ſhew them a remedy, for

[b] *Terence. Introiit in ædes ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit.*
[c] Γαλῆ. Theoph.
[k] *In* Hip. *p.* 603. *vide etiam* Euſtath. *in* Il. *π'.*
[l] ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἡμ.
[m] Plut. Pericle *p.* 123. *l.* 35.
[n] Plut. Nicia. *p.* 29. *l.* 21.
[o] *Lib.* 4. *c.* 11.
[p] Plut. Them. *p.* 85. *l.* 23.
[q] *In* Ach. *p.* 379. & *p.* 424.
[r] Paul. Att. *p.* 35. *l.* 31. *vide* Euſt. *in* Il. *ι'.*
† Ariſt. *Veſp. p.* 508.
[s] Zenobius.
[t] Ariſtoph. *p.* 44. 66. *T.* 438.

for

[x] for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a Cock, if I miſtake not. What ſhall I ſay of [y] putting him to death who ſhould cut down an Oak or an Holm (ſo *Ilex* which in Greek is πευκῆιον may be taken, I think it an Holm) in the *Heroum?* and puniſhing *Atarbes* capitally who being diſtracted had ſlain a ſparrow ſacred to *Æſculapius?* Thus far have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophecyings. *Æſchylus* brings *Prometheus* on the ſtage, vaunting how firſt he taught men, [z] Ὀνειροκριτικὴν, Οἰωνιστικὴν, Ἡπατικὴν, Θυτικήν. All which were practiſed among the *Athenians*, as you may reade in [a] *Xenophon*. Ὀνειροκριτικὴν, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, is a reſolution of thoſe doubts which we conceive of things offered to our fancy in ſleep, as that of *Hecuba*, dreaming that ſhe ſhould bring forth a firebrand; and that of *Atoſſa* before the fall of her Son *Xerxes*, whom ſhe ſaw ſtriving to yoke the *Barbarian* and *Greek* Woman, one of which overthrew him. This the Ancients termed ἐνύπνιον ἰδεῖν, *Æſchylus*, aſcribing much to the truth of them, ſuppoſing them to be ſent from a Deity—— καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ὀπ Διὸς ὄτιν, [b] *Homer*. The skill in them is, [c] ἐξ ὀνειράτων ἃ χρὴ παραγγέλλειν, κληδόνας τε δυσκρίτους γνωρίζειν, to tell truly the event. Which was no ſmall art: certain Books are written of that Subject. [d] Καὶ εἰσὶν ἔγγραφοί τινες τέχναι Ὀνειροκριτικαὶ, as *Artemidorus* his *Oniricritica*. Οἰωνιστικὴν, *Southſaying by Birds*, when ſuch or ſuch flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand to ſhew what it doth prognoſticate, * *Æſchylus*. Ταμφωτόχων τε πλῆτιν οἰωνῶν σκιδρῶς διώκειν· οἵτινες ἕξεσι φύσιν, ἐυόννυμοί τε, καὶ δίαιταν λιπαρὰ ἔχουσ' ἔκγονοι, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τίνες ἔχθρα τε καὶ στέργησις καὶ συνηδρία. It was formerly ſtyled, [f] Οἰωνιστικὴ, ἅτε ἐκ διαταξίας πορίζομένων ἀνθρωπίνῃ διανοίᾳ σημείων, which the mind doth ſuggeſt to the opinion. It is put for any divination in Greek Writers, but moſt properly Ὀρνεοσκοπικὴν, which [g] *Telegonus* is related to have found according to *Nonnus*; but according to [h] *Pliny*, *Car*, whence it is called *Caria*. Ἡπατικὴν, looking into the liver or entrals, like the Latins *extiſpicium*, obſerving the colour of them, λοβοῦ τε ποικίλου ἐυμορφίαν· as likewiſe the ſoundneſs, hence taken as a prodigy λοβὸς οὐκ ἔχων κεφαλὴν, in [k] *Plutarch*,

[x] Petronius.

[y] Ælian. Ποικ. *l.* 5. *c.* 17.

[z] *Vide Sch. p.* 32.

[a] Ἀπομν. α'. *initio.*

[b] Iliad. 1.

[c] Æſch. Pro. *pag.* 33.

[d] Euſt. *in* Il. α'. *pag.* 36.

* *Pag.* 33.

[f] Ariſtides *T.* 3. *pag.* 25.

[g] Nonnus. Σωαγ. *l.* 5. α'. *c.*

[h] *Nat. Hiſt. l.* 7. *c.* 56.

[i] Æſch. *loco citato.*

[k] *Pag.* 357. *l.* 31.

tarch, the extremity of the liver (like the outmoſt parts of the Vine leaf, ſays *Iſidore*) not to be ſeen, or rather that which they call the head, *Ovid*,

——*caſumque caput reperitur in extis.*

[1] Æſch. *loco citato.* Θυλικὸν, in marking the flame of the Sacrifice burnt, [1] φλογὸς σημεῖα, the Tragedian calls them, by which they could foretell events. More doubtleſs had they ways of Witchcraft, as the other Greeks. Ἐνόδιον, as when one ſhall meet you carrying ſuch or ſuch things, then this ſhall befall you, *Æſchylus* terms them ἐνοδίους συμβόλους, *Schol.* τοὺς ἐξ ὑπαντήσεως. See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum* on theſe words, *Puer è triviis.* The [m] *In Av. p.* 574. Scholiaſt of [m] *Ariſtophanes* on ξύμβολον ὄρνιν, they made, quoth he, whom they met firſt, as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the Salutation which [n] *In* Oed. Tyr. *initio.* [n] *Sophocles* calls εὐφήμους σῆμα φερομένους, wiſhing luck, as χαῖρε among the Greeks, and the Latins [o] *Eſto bonis avibus viſus*, &c. Ξύμβολον is put likewiſe for ſneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but ſacred to [p] *Ceres*, as the Greeks, whence proceeded that Ζῆνα εἰπεῖν, which we intimate in our, *God help you*, as often as we ſee any man purging his head. Which not to have proceeded from any deadly Diſeaſe, is ſufficiently evinced by *Caſaubon* on *Athenæus*. Οἰκοσκοπικὸν, at the ſight of a Mouſe, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the Houſe, or when the oil Cruſe is dry, Honey, Wine, Water is ſpent, to gueſs at future things. Of this [q] *Xenocrates* wrote. Χειροσκοπικὸν, Palmiſtry, when by the length of the Hand, or lines of the Table, they can judge of freeneſs in Houſe-keeping, of Marriage and Poſterity, of which [r] *Helenus* once left a Monument. Παλμισικὸν, gathered out of the ſhaking of the parts of the body, as the ſhoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kind *Poſidonius* was an Authour expoſed to the world. Ἐγγαστριμυθία, as that wherein the Witch of *Endor* was experienced, out of the loweſt parts of whoſe belly the Devil ſpake. The firſt that practiſed this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*, hence they who are poſſeſſed with the Spirit of Propheſying are called Εὐρυκλεῖται, *Eurycliæ*, as the † *Schol.* of *Ariſtoph.* Who calls this

[p] *Sch.* Ariſt. *loco citato.*

[q] Nonnus *in* Naz.

[r] Nonnus.

† *In* Veſp. *p.* 503.

Art

Art [c] Εὐρυκλέους Μαντεία, *The Divining of Eurycles.* Νεκυομαντεία, where after solemn Sacrifices they were wont to call up the souls of the deceased, demanding of them what afterward should befall. As [v] *Wierus.* And no wonder, for they held the Spirits of their Parents and Kindred for Gods, [x] *quibus sacrificabant* (says *Bodin*) *& ad quorum sepulchra comedebant, in quos Scriptura invehens ac detestans, inquit, & comederunt sacrificia mortuorum,* to which they sacrificed, and at whose Sepulchres they fed, against whom the Scripture inveying and detesting, speaketh, *And they eat the oblations of the dead.* Of this [y] *Aristophanes* makes mention, and [z] *Homer* in his *Odysses.* This is that which most properly is called γοητεία, from γόος, *lamentation,* by *Wierus* termed, *diræ execrationes,* [a] for with great mourning they invocated κακοποιοὺς δαίμονας, wicked Gods for the accomplishment of their deviliſh designs. It may most fitly have the name of *Nigra Magia,* [b] for so the Wizards divide them into the black and white Magick. Μαγεία, from whence the word Magick is derived, seems to have been found by the [c] *Medes* and *Persians,* whose Priests were called *Magi,* great Philosophers, as [d] *Laertius* is witness. This is supposed to be the good Magick. [*] Ἐπιχαλκὶς δὲ δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν, πρὸς ἀγαθὰ πνεῦσιν φαρμακεία, is a giving of a *Philtrum,* a Medicine for the procurement of Love or rather enraging of Lust, by bewitching something and giving it to be eaten; which to have power over Swine is credibly reported. Κοσκινομαντεία, Tricks with a pair of Shears and Sieve, of which *Theocritus.* [f] Ἀξινομαντεία, To take counsel of an Hatchet, taking and laying it on a piece of Timber flat-ways, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty use of a Key and Bible. Ἀστραγαλομαντεία, by casting of the Dice to ask the number of Wives, Children, Farms, &c. Which answer to the quantity of the chance. [g] Ἀλφιτομαντεία & Ἀλφιτομαντεία, done by Corn. [h] Ἀριθμομαντεία, by taking the Letters of the name, as when two were to fight, and by value of them to judge the conquest. As they said of *Hector's* being overcome by *Achilles.* Ὀργυιομαντεία, making a circle, they divided it into four and twenty parts, and on each part made a letter, and

[c] *Ib. p.* 502.
[v] *De Magis Inf. l.* 2. *c.* 11.
[x] *Dæmonomaniæ. l.* 2. *c.* 3.
[y] *In Avib. p.* 613. *a.*
[z] *Lib.* λ'.
[a] Nonn. *in* Naz.
[b] *Vid.* Bodin.
[c] *Vid.* Non.
[d] *In Proœm.*
[*] Nonnus.
[f] *Vid.* Odyſ.
[g] *Vide* Theocrit. *in* Phar.
[h] Delrio *Disqui. Mag. l.* 4. *c.* 2. *q.* 5. *sec.* 7.

and putting wheat upon the letters, they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he took up the grain, they at last joyned them together, and so knew their successours, husbands, *&c.* Στοιχειομαντεία, opening a Book of *Homer*, and by the first verse that they lighted upon to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of *Homer*, which speaks of the arrival of *Achilles* within three days at *Thessaly*. [i] *Et quoniam Poemata pro Vaticiniis*, &c. And because Poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets Prophets, they were most busie in them. Hence in publick causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphicæ*, for foretelling or divination. [k] I know the She-priest of *Apollo* being inspired with a kind of holy fury spake to those who asked counsel. Whence the word [l] μαντικὴ, at this time read for *Southsaying*, was anciently called μανικὴ, *madness*. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of Lottery, is as clear as day, the [m] *Scholiast* of *Euripides* testifying; done it seems in matters of question, so κλῆρον λαχεῖν may intimate as much as to undergo trial. Predictions there were, [n] saith *Eustath.* out of signs and wonders, as also of the noise that leaves make when they are burned. To which some add Ἀερομαντεία, or divination by the Air, quoting for it *Aristophanes in Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

[i] Wier. *de Magis Inf. l.* 2. *c.* 13.

[k] *Vide Sch.* Arist. *in* Plut.

[l] Aristid. *T.* 3. *pag.* 25.

[m] *In* Hippol. *pag.* 580.

[n] *In Il. a. p.* 36.

CAP. VII.

De Templis & Asylis.

THeir Churches were of two sorts; sacred to their Gods, in Greek, Νεὼς, or Ἱερὰ. And sacred to their Demi-gods most properly Ἡρῷα. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragedians. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first Original of their Temples was the erecting

erecting of an Edifice to the honour of the deceased. [a] Νεὼς δὲ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀνομασμένους, πάνυ δὲ ἡμαθῶδες. Τοῦτ' ἦν τὸ πάλαι Νεὼς ὀνομαζόμενος. *Cecrops* buried in the *Acropolis*, *Erichthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, the Daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleusiis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called ἔξω περιῤῥαντήριον, the other ἔσω. [b] *Casaubon* tells us that περιῤῥαντήριον was that holy water set at the door of the Temple, with which every one that entred into the Temple besprinkled himself, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it stood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawfull for any but the Priests to come. The [c] *Sch.* of *Sophocles* thus describes the Church. Ναὸς, quoth he, is the place where the Altar stands. Βωμὸς, the Altar on which they offered their oblations. Τέμενος, where they placed the Idol which they worshipped; in ancient time a rude Table or Stock, [d] *as is Clemens Alexandrinus* calls it, as that of *Juno Samia*, afterward made in the magistracy of *Procles* to be a Statue. At first named * ξόανα, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ ξύλου ἢ ὕλης, from the shaving of it; but when Art began to be so expert as to make it resemble a man, they termed it βρέτας, from βροτὸς, *mortalis*, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these Ceremonies: That a woman neatly trimmed and deckt in purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beans, pease and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulness for their first food; [f] εὐχαριστήρια ὄντα τῶν πρώτων διαίτης. For as much as I conceive out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was consecrated, or did divine honours, but in the ἱερῷ or ναῷ, the body of the Church, framing, as may be gathered, their gesture towards it. [g] Αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ περιῤῥαντήρια, ἀγάλματα, ξόανα, ἕδη θεῶν, &c. Farthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greek Ἀρχεῖον by some translated *summum Templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This seems to have been the Treasury both for the Church, and any soever who fearing the security of his wealth, would commit it to the custody of the Priest, as [h] *Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus*. *Martial* points at this when he says,

Templa

[a] *Vid.* p. 22.

[b] *In* Theoph. *Charact.*

[c] *In* Oed. *Tyrannum.*

[d] *Protreptico.* pag. 23.

* *Idem.*

[f] *Schol.* Arist. p. 115.

[g] *Lib.* 1. c. 1. Τμ. γ'.

[h] Laertius *in Vita* p. 122. *vide ad eum locum* Cas.

Templa vel arcano demens ſpoliaverat auro.

So reverently did they eſteem of theſe houſes of their Gods, that to doe thoſe offices of Nature, I mean venting of Excrements, too ſhamelefly ſeen among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination, puniſhed ſeverely by *Piſiſtratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* Ground had brought forth, they ſo hated him for that Taxation, as that they made the ἀφόδευμα of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden never was redreſſed. And yet ſo ſecretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, ſave at laſt one Stranger, whom he cauſed to be whipt with this Proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that ſoundly ſmarted for his wickedneſs, they were wont proverbially to ſay, *He had better have eaſed himſelf in the Pytheum*, or if there were more in the plural number, Κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ ἀποπατῆσαι. Nay ſo honourable held they theſe Churches, that to them they granted privilege of *Sanctuary*, to which who would flie, might not from thence be drawn out under a Treſpaſs upon Religion. Of this kind was the Temple of *Minerva* and *Theſeus*, the Altars of the *Eumenides* and *Mercy*, [i] whoſe Image they would not have erected any where in their City, although in the midſt thereof ſhe had a Grove. [k] The firſt *Aſylum* among the Heathens is held to have been in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclidæ*.

[i] *Vid.* Roſin.

[k] Polyd. Virg. *in* Eurip. *they are perſecuted ſitting near the Altar. T.* 2. *p.* 472.

CHAP. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy Orders among them I conceive to have been divers ſorts. Παράσιτοι, *Paraſiti*, a word had in latter times in great deriſion, exagitated almoſt in every Comedy, put for a ſhark or ſmell-feaſt, [a] *Edax Paraſitus*. But held once in good eſteem. For when they had ſet apart ſuch a parcel

[a] Terent.

parcel of land as they thought the revenues thereof would ſuffice for the Sacrifices of ſuch and ſuch Gods, they choſe certain men who ſhould receive or gather the Harveſt. [b] *Crates*, οἱ δὲ τὴν τῶ ἱερῶ αἴτησ ἐκλογὴν αἰρέμενοι. With the incomes of this were the charges of thoſe publick Sacrifices defrayed. Hence πρόσοδα μεγάλα, *introitus magni*, great yearly Subſtance, is uſed for great Sacrifice in [c] Scholiaſt, ὅτω ἔλεγον τὰς πρωτομηνίας πᾶς θεοῖς θυσίας. Κήρυκες, *Ceryces*, the ſame ſignifies a Crier, but in ſacred Functions a Miniſter, who ſlew and offered the *Victim*. [d] the Comedian aſcribes much honour to them, as if they had firſt taught men to ſeeth Victuals, the fleſh of Sheep and Oxen, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from * *Ceryx* the Son of *Mercury* and *Pandorus*. But [f] *Caſaubon*, ἀπὸ τῆ κρείττονος, *à præſtantiore parte muneris quod obibant, ſic dicti: Idem namque & hoſtias mactabant, adolebántque*, &c. They in the time of Divine Rites, craved the ſilence of the people in theſe words, Εὐφημεῖτε. Σῖγα πᾶς ἔξω λεώς, *Be whiſt all ye people. Good words*, for ſo [g] εὐφημεῖν ſignifies, as well as to ſay nought, which *Horace* fitly interprets, when he ſays,

Malè ominatis parcite verbis.

When Sacrifice was ended they diſmiſſed the Congregation with theſe words, Λαῶν ἄφεσις. To which cuſtome he unfitly looked who derived the Maſs from *Miſſa eſt, ite*, better fetcht in my mind by [h] *Wechelius* from *Maſath* the Hebrew, which avails as much as to praiſe. Μυσταγωγοὶ, the ſame with [i] Ἱεροφάνται, who initiated them who deſired to be admitted into the ſociety of the ſuperſtitiouſly zealous (who after they were entred, were not under a year complete, permitted to ſee their Bable) [k] *Schol. Naz.* Ἱεροφάνται παρὰ τὸ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκφαίνειν. *Hierophantæ* ſo called from Ἐκφαίνειν τὰ ἱερὰ, *Opening the holy things*. Εἰπὲ γὰρ οἱ Ἱερουργοί. [l] The Learned Biſhop, upon the place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moſes* among the *Iſraelites* was an *Hierophanta*, ſhewing unto them what they were to doe in thoſe ſacred buſineſſes. Πυρτόροι, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whoſe Office made them ſafe in war and danger. Hence of bloudy

[b] *Secund.* Art. *Dialect. apud* Athen. *p.* 235.
[c] *Avib. p.* 581.
[d] *Apud* Athen. *l.* 14. *p.* 661.
* *Vide* Salm. *in Inſcripti.* Pollucem. *l.* 8.
[f] *In* Athen. *l.* 15. *c.* 23.
[g] Caſaub. *in* Theophraſt. *p.* 321.
[h] *In lib. quem ſcripſit de Sacrament.*
[i] Meurſius *Eleuſin. c.* 13.
[k] Stel. 1. *p.* 63.
[l] *L.* Mountac. *of* Chicheſter.

fight we say, Οὐδὲ πυρφόρος, *Ne ignifer quidem, There escaped not he that served at the Altar.* Ἱεροποιοὶ, the Priests in the *Great Mysteries*, ten in number. Νεωκόροι whom [m] *Nicander* calls ζάκορος from [n] κορεῖν τὸ καλλωπίζειν, to be decent, because they kept the Temples clean, and swept them, as *Ion* in [o] *Euripides* speaks. These were the Νεοφύλακες, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, says [p] *Aristotle.* And yet we reade that the *Parasiti* did sometimes look to the mending of it. There being a Law enacted that what they laid out should be restored again. Ἱερεῖς in [q] *Aristophanes* likewise termed πεῤῥηλοι. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, [r] whose prayers the Ancients required at their Sacrifices; out of which they had a fee, † the trotters and skins, as the [t] *Ceryces* the tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, for there being tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (and perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomach did share. Well known to [v] *Aristophanes*, who relates the like of the Priest of *Æsculapius.* It was requisite to this function that they who undertook it should be found both wind and limb, they being asked εἰ ἀρτιλεῖς, before their creation, Whether they were whole in every member: which Ceremony to have been used among holy Orders of later days is well known, their neighbours wives bearing record, says [x] *Christianus* that they have not taken into their societies *quid mutilum.* There were moreover She-priests, as the Βασίλιναι, in *Demosthenes*, and the Καπηφόροι whom in all things [y] *Dionysius Halicarnassens* compared to the vestal Nuns.

[m] *In* Alexaph. *p.* 144.
[n] Aristoph. *Sc. p.* 125.
[o] *T.* 2. *p.* 621.
[p] *In Politic.*
[q] *In* Plut. *p.* 71.
[r] Casaub. *in* Theoph.
† Arist. *p.* 481.
[t] Arist. *p.* 101.
[v] *In* Plut. *p.* 71.
[x] *In* Aristoph.
[y] *Antiq. l.* 2. *n.* 3.

CAP. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE Father of Philosophy is of opinion, that Sacrifices first began after the *Ancients* had ended their *Harvest.* For

For then being free from care, they found time for mirth and jollity. In which they offered their first fruits called ἀπαρχαί, from whence ἀπάρχεσθαι is read generally to doe any Sacrifice. Neither doth ἀλοηδόκη import less. For [a] σὶτ signifies the bend, or great chest of the garner, wherein they laid up the harvest threshт and winnowed; ἄλοον, the first or beginning, as if when they began to treasure up their store, they first of all liberally paid some devotion to their Gods. The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing else but the earth's beneficence, but before *Solon*'s age, burnt offerings; who willed in his laws, that they should be [b] ἔκλεκτα ἱερεῖα, *chosen and selected sacrifices*. The rights performed in them were not different from those in the days of *Homer*, but somewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand these holy things to purifie themselves some certain days before, [c] πρόσθεν ἡμερῶν ἁγίσθιον, the number of them is not set down. I take ἁγίσθειν here to abstain from carnal delights. *Tibull.*

[a] *Vide Schol.* Eur. *in* Phæn. *p.* 291.

[b] Plut. *p.* 65. *l.* 26. *They called their lean sacrifices* κλεκτὰ καὶ γένειον, *horns and hair, as if naught else,* Arist. p. 584.

[c] Demost. p. 400, 476.

——*discedite ab aris,*
Quos tulit hesterna gandia nocte Venus.

To which purpose *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, from the company of a man to go to sacrifice, answered, from her own at any time, but a stranger never. Being thus prepared, they came and stood round the Altar, having with them a basket, in which was the knife hid (covered with flower and salt in [d] *Aristophanes* ὀλαὶ, in * *Homer* ὐλοχύτοι) with which they cut the throat of the *Victim*. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. [f] *Aristophanes*, Περὶ δὲ βωμὸν ταχέως ὑπὶ δεξιᾶ. This lustration was made with meal, and holy water sprinkled thereon. This water is called [g] χέρνιψ, in which they quenched a fire-brand taken from the Altar; with which they bedewed the standers by, accounting it a kind of cleansing, (hence [h] χέρνιζας νέμειν was forbidden him whom they took for a polluted and forlorn rogue) then they cast some of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cry out, [i] Τίς τῇδε; *Who is here?* to which they made reply, Πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί, *Many and good.*

[d] *In Pace. p.* 695.

* Il. α'. *with these* ὐλοχύτοις *the Greeks ever began sacrifice, the Romans* Far, Dionys. Halic. *l.* 2. *n.* 4.

[f] *Loco laud.*

[g] Athen. *l.* 9. *p.* 409.

[h] Sophocles' Oed. *Tyr.*

[i] Aristoph.

Then they prayed. [k] *Homer*,

Ἕξείης ἕστην εὐδμήτου ἄρει βωμοῦ.
Χερνίβησιν δ' ἐπέσσα, καὶ εὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο.
Τοῖσιν δ' Χρύσης μεγάλ' εὐχόμενος χεῖρας ἀνασχών.

Among the latter they spake with a lowd voice εὐχόμενοι, before they began, *Let us pray.* Supplications ended, they drew the Victim so as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might look upwards, which [l] *Homer*, αὖ ἐρύειν. *Eustath.* Εἰ μὲ πρὸς ἄνω ἔβυον, ἀναλαβὼν τὸ ἱερεῖον τράχηλον, ὥστε ἀποβλέπειν ὡς εἰς τὸ ὑψηλόν. If it were to the *Heroes* or Demi-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they slew him and skinned him, and cutting out the * huck, shin-bones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called κνίσση (hence the Gods of the heathen are deciphered by [m] *Nazianzen*, κνίσσῃ χαίροντες, *rejoycing in the fat,*) to the end that they might burn all our in a great flame; [n] ὦ γὰρ πανδὴν ὁλοκαυτωθῆναι τοὺς μηροὺς λαμπρὸν καταφλεχθέντας πυρί. For the Grecians accounted it unlucky if it did not consume, and thought that it was not καλλιέρημα: upon the μηροὺς they cast small pieces of flesh cut from every part of the beast, beginning with the shoulder (which is in Greek ὦμος) hence this is called ὠμοθετεῖν. The reason *Eustathius* gives, [o] Ὡς δοκεῖν πρὸ τοῦ παλλαικὸς, ὅλα ὅπου τὰ μέρη τὰ ἱερεῖα καρπῶσθαι, that they might seem to consume all, which the *Athenians* did not, being commanded by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By reason of which injunction, they did so strain courtesie of their Gods, that the illiberal and niggardly sort of People would sell that which was left, and so make gain of their devotion, [p] τὰ μὲ ἱερεῖα πάλιν πρὸς ἱερέων τὰ κρέα ὠνοῦνται, says *Theophrast.* Where [q] *Casaubon* notes, *Coxam ferè offerebant, aut intestina, aut aliud non magnæ rei persæpe, They offered the hanch bone, or the entrals, or somewhat of no great worth,* where by entrals you are to understand the spleen, the liver and the heart, which *Homer* calls σπλάγχνα, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which sense we say ἄσπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ, *a pusillanimous man*, and εὔσπλαγχνος, *a couragious*, as the [r] *Schol.* of *Sophocles* teaches us, and so σπλάγχνα ἐλέους, *the bowels of compassion.* These the Ancients did divide among them at

[k] Il. α'.
[l] Il. α'.
* Μηρία.
[m] *In* Stel.
[n] Eustath. p. 101. Ἰλ.
[o] *Loco laud.*
[p] Th. *Charac.* περὶ Ἀνελευθερίας.
[q] *Pag.* 336.
[r] *In* Ajacem. Lorarium.

at sacrifice to feed on, and afterwards cut out the rest to roast. For when they had finished their devotions, they let the reins loose to all manner of voluptuousness, gluttony and drunkenness. For ofttimes they left nothing after their sacrifice, especially when they offered to *Vesta*, whence the Proverb, Ἑστία ἔδειν, is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari sacrificare*. To say that publickly they began to *Vesta* were more than I could prove; but that they did so is plain. In their houses they had Altars, and so I supposed once ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι to be taken; but this was done *in Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings, as he on † *Aristophanes*. As for their meat offerings it was required that they should be [t] sound and without blemish, whether it were an Ox, Sheep, Goat, Swine, Calf: to sacrifice they simply termed ἱερεῖον, which our Latins have interpreted fitly, *Facere*, [v] Virgil,

Cum faciam vitulâ ———

Whose poverty was so great that he could not afford a Sheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleased if he offered *molas*; which the Greeks call [x] σύλλημα, *meal*, which by the richer was mingled with oil and wine, as the [y] *Schol.* of *Aristoph.* The more wealthy instead of this did cast Frankincense on the Altars. For the sacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were set apart, as [z] *Demosthenes*. In their oblations the Μάγειροι or *Cooks* gave the † tenth part to the *Prytanes*. So ἀδεκάτευτος κοιλία, put for ἱερεῖα where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. *Aristoph.* on ἀδεκατεύτους ἐκ θεῶν ἱερεῖας ἔχουσα κοιλίας. Ἐδόθη δὲ ἔχον τὰ δεκάτια τῶν θυομένων τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν οἱ μάγειροι δηδόναι. Δέον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἀδεκατεύτου ἔχουσα ἱερεῖα, &c.

† *Vid. p.* 582.

[t] *Vide* Pollucem. *l.* 1.

[v] *In Bucolicis.*

[x] Casaub. *in* Theoph. *p.* 237.

[y] *Pag.* 701.

[z] *Pag.* 378.

† *Schol.* Arist. *p.* 304.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THE ancient Greek year consisted of 360 days, each month consisting of 30. Rude Antiquity, ignorant of celestial contemplations, deeming the Moon to finish her

her course in that space: Which according to [a] *Petavius* seems false. *Lunaris enim non fuit, sed ejus menses tricenis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning, had they not used intercalations, they had soon found a main difference in the times when they ought to have celebrated their Festivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*; in which when they found 7 days deficient, they supplied them by adding * two to every end of the year, called ἀναρχοι ἡμέραι, [b] *eò quòd per illud biduum Athenæ Magistratibus carebant, Because for those two days Athens was without Magistrates.* But the last of these four had but 359 days, besides the two ἐμβόλιμοι, in respect of the Olympick Games, ever kept in the * full Moon, which could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moon. Nevertheless the Sun and Moon appearing 14 days odds in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eighth year an interjection of one month, that this time being ended the course might still return the same. This all *Greece* observed says [c] *Petavius*, by the *Athenians* termed Μυσήρια, by the people of *Etis* an *Olympiad.* What kind of Lunary year was in use among the Grandsires of *Greece*, is not truly known; by [d] *Petitus* delivered to be of 347 days, every month 29 d. except one, which like our *February* had but 28 d. Every two years one month was inserted: once of 29 d. another time of 28 d. But because in two years this * *magnus annus* surpassed the Moon 15 d. *itaque Tetraeterida fecerunt.* This consisted of 1445 d. 723 and 722 make 1445. so many days 354 four times doubled hath, if you please to adjoyn 29. Of this sort of calculation doth he understand [f] *Geminus*, Τὰς μὲν πεπλασιασθημένας ἦγον, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμβολίμους παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν. *That must be fitly understood*, quoth he, *for they did number the months as if they were 30 days, when notwithstanding they had but 29.* [g] *Petavius* is otherwise conceited, who takes the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* in that sense, as meaning 29 d. full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to [h] *Geminus* you may account 29 ½ ⅓. and [i] *Ulpian*, εἰκοσιεννέα καὶ ἥμισυ, 29 ½. And yet are we not destitute of authority, that a month was supputed 29 d. [k] *Theon.* Μῆνα ὁ μέχρι μιᾶς, ἀπὸ σωδεκάτης Σελήνης καὶ Ἡλίου χρόνον ἐπὶ σωδεκάτην, ὅς ἐστιν ἡμερῶν

[a] *De Doct. Temp. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

* *Negat.* Petitus *Miscel. l.* 8. *p.* 192. Petav. *affirm.*

[b] *M.* Selden. *in Apparat. ad Græc. Epoch. Chro.*

* Id est, *The fifteenth day.*

[c] *De D. Temp. T.* 1. *p.* 4.

[d] *Eclog. Chr. p.* 225. Petav. *goes not so home. Lib. de Doct. Temp.* 1. *c.* 6.

* *Each of these two years severally taken was called* vertens, *joyned* annus magnus.

[f] *Elem. Astro. c.* 8. *p.* 36.

[g] *In Auctario.*

[h] *Loco citato.*

[i] *In Arg. Orat. contra* And. *p.* 380.

[k] *In* Arati *Diosem. p.* 74.

ἡμερῶν κδ'. But that the fragments were left out, the words are plain, Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τριάκοντα συνόδων ἡμέραν ἀπέδει, ἣ ἐκ τῆς νυκθὸς καὶ ἡμέρας χρόνον, τούτῳ δὲ τὰς ὅλας ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἡμερῶν διαγωγήν· καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρῶνται πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, *He means a day the space of a night and a day, for according to such months did they administer their civil affairs: and now it is in request among many of the Greeks.* But of this enough. Soon was the *Tetraeteris* found faulty; therefore was made a Calendar of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sun, to wit, 11 d. ¼, made up three months, inserted every third, fifth and eighth year. But the scruples coming short in sixteen years 3 days, they intercalated three: And seeing still they could not make it even, [1] *Euctemon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack of 19 years, which by *Callippus* was produced to 76. Months 940. of them 28 ἐμβόλιμοι, τῇ δὲ τάξει τῶν ἐμβολίμων ὁμοίως ἐχρήσαντο, says *Geminus.* This was the progress of their reformation. But we must look back again and consider that they counted their year two ways. First of [m] 360, as hath been already spoken, next 354, when they made the months interchangeably πλήρεις καὶ κοίλους, *full and deficient*, that is one 29, the other 30 days, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their days. The first, wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalepha* or contraction of the words νουμηνία. The second δίτη. The eighth ὀγδοὰς, or half full: the full πανσέληνος. The last τριακὰς, [n] ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς συμβαίνοντος, because that in the days of [o] *Thales Milesius*, who was the Authour of that term, the month had 30 and no more, but ended; whence I suppose [p] αἱ ἐν ᾅδου τριακάδες, signifie the dead, the period of whose life has been come to. Though *Diogenian* gives other reasons. And by the way we must not think, that they had no regard to the course of the Sun; [q] *sed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris*, &c. But nevertheless that the year might be correspondent to the Sun, they put five days called ἐπαγόμεναι epacted, to the last month *Scirrophorion*, for the supplying of the defect. And so the year had 365. d. which was the true and just measure. But he might have added sometimes 366, by reason of that ¼ which

[1] Geminus. p. 38. *Whom I follow. Not ignorant that* Meton *was the first that made the Cicle of* 19. *years. Hence* Μέτων ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς, Meton's *year is put for a long time proverbially.*

[m] *Then were all the months of* 30 *days, as you may see in Schol.* Aristoph. *Achar.* p. 412.

[n] Gem. p. 32.

[o] Laertius *in Vita.*

[p] Pollux. *l.* 1.

[q] Petit. *Eccl. Chro. p.* 215.

Geminus

Geminus acknowledges the *Greeks* to have reckoned, although they accounted their months but 30 days. This is that *annus implicitus*, which [r] *Aratus* ſtyles μῆνα ἑνιαυτοῦ. To this point the Greek Authours telling their year by ſeed-time. † *Sophocles*, —— Εἰλουμένων ἀρότων ἔτος εἰς ἔτος. For the Ancients, ſays [t] *Theon*, took the year three ways; either by the Sun, or Seaſons; as Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, [v] (*Sophocles*, Ἐξ ἧς εἰς Ἀρκτοῦρον ἐμμένουσι χρόνοις. Χειμῶνι δ' ἤδη——) or thirdly by the Moon: whoſe irregularity *Solon* is reported by [x] *Plutarch* firſt to have marked. Obſerving therefore that ſhe on the ſame day overtook and ſurpaſſed the Sun, [y] τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν καταλαμβάνουσαν καὶ παρερχομένην τὸν ἥλιον, he cauſed that to be called, [z] ἕνη καὶ νέα, *the old and new*, becauſe that remnant, which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the precedent month, and that remnant which was after the conjunction appertaining to the ſubſequent. (Theſe pieces [a] *Aratus* calls σωτῆρας Μηνὸς πείρατα) in which matter he is thought to have had *Homer* in ſight, who in his [b] *Odyſſes* terms the thirteenth day, as *Didymus* expounds it,

Τῇ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνὸς, τῇ δ' ἰσταμένοιο.

Where we may note that then they had no μεσοῦντος, but counted from one to twelve in the *ordinal numbers*, uſed by [c] *Demoſthenes* in one Oration, ἑνδεκάτῃ, and δωδεκάτῃ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος. Then putting the leſſer to the greater, they ſaid, τρίτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, τετάρτῃ ὀπὶ δέκα, *the third above ten, the fourth above ten*, and ſo to twenty. † But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, and the light almoſt loſt, they changed the order, and uſed δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος, ἐνάτῃ, &c. *the tenth of the decreaſe, the ninth of the decreaſe*, and ſo to the twenty ninth, δευτέρα φθίνοντος, *the ſecond from the decreaſe, or from the end*, going lower in number ſtill, as the ſplendour of the Moon was diminiſhed; but the 30th they call'd ἕνη καὶ νέα for the cauſe above. Here likewiſe they take the reaſon why the month ending was φθίνων. [d] Ἐπειδὴ φθίνειν ὥσπερ καὶ φθείρεσθαι δοκεῖ τὰ φῶτα, *Becauſe the days and Moons do as it were die*, according to that of *Horace*,

Novaque pergunt interire Lunæ.

* Macrobius, *Quid aliud niſi illum φθίνειν dicit, cujus paulatim deficien-*

[r] *In* Διοσημ. *p.* 78.
† *In* Antigon. *p.* 213.
[t] *In* Aratum. *p.* 78.
[v] *In* Oedip. *Tyran. p.* 183.
[x] *In Vita. p.* 66. *l.* 15.
[y] Plutarch.
[z] Laert. *in Vita.*
[a] *In Dioſem. p.* 125.
[b] Ὀδυσσ. ξ'. *p.* 164.
[c] *Contra* Timocratem. *p.* 446. *n.* 39.
† *Vide* Plut. *loco nuper laudat.*
[d] Ulpian *in* Dem. *p.* 210.
* Macrobius *Sat. l.* 1. *c.* 16.

deficientis ſupputatio in nomen deſinit ſecuturi; & ἰσάμενον illum, qui præcedit numerum ſucceſſurus priori in defectum meanti. Ἰσάμενον & ſtanding to ſupply the place of the departing month; fixed and ſtill waiting till the Moon ſhall have journeyed to the completing and ending of the precedent time. Thus the laſt day of our lives is ſaid to ſtand. *Virgil,* [f] *Stat ſua cuique dies,* as unto which we muſt paſs through all the reſt, and once approach. Thus ſquared they their times, and ſtate matters to the Moon. Hence reade we μῆνας ἄγειν πόλιν, to count the Month as they do, who manage politick buſineſſes, or belonging to Government. In which courſe they made their year of 354 days, which divided into ten parts, make ten times 35, which ſpace each [g] Πρυτανεία ruled in its turn; the four that abounded were called Ἐφαρμοσίαι, in which they choſe Magiſtrates, being for that time deſtitute of them. The year thus diſpoſed, the months muſt of neceſſity be πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι, *cavi & pleni,* as [h] *Geminus,* Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν πολίτικὸν ἀγαγόντες ὁλοχρήσιον λαμβανόμενοι μησὶ τοῖς χρόνοις εἶναι ἡμερῶν κθ'. ὥστε τὸν μῆνα γίγνεσθαι ἡμερῶν νθ'. ὅθεν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ κατὰ πόλιν μῆνες ἐναλλὰξ ἄγονται πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι, διὰ τὸ τὸν σελήνιον μῆνα ἡμερῶν ἥμισυ νθ'. If a Month have 29 d. ½. two have 59. Becauſe therefore the two halfs might be made one whole, they ſo ordered it, that now it ſhould be 29 d. then 30 d. The [i] *Athenians* counted their day from the ſetting of the Sun on this day untill the going down of the next. In reſpect to which [k] *Nicander* may be thought to ſay of noon ſleep, —ἀκρήτῳ εὕδειν, *To take reſt at the beginning of the even.* I know that the Ancients wrought but ſix hours in the day. [l] *Martial,*

Sexta quies laſſis ſeptima finis erit.

Which [m] *Euſtath.* affirms in his Commentary on *Homer.* And therefore Z. H. Θ. I. were the notes of the 7. 8. 9. 10. hours, which joyned make ΖΗΘΙ, as if they ſhould have ſaid to the Labourers, *Reſt.* The beginning of the year was [n] *Hecatombæon, July,* the eighth, ſays [o] *Petitus.* They ever accounting that to be the firſt Month. In which order I have found them ſet down in a [p] Manuſcript in our publick Library, onely *Memacterion* is to be put above *Pyanepſion.*

[f] Æneid. 10. p. 330.

[g] *Argum. Or.* Dem. *contra.* Androt. p. 380.

[h] *Elemen. Aſtronom.* p. 31.

[i] Macrob. *l.* 1. *Sat. c.* 3. Plin. *Nat. Hiſt. l.* 2. *c.* 77.

[k] *In Theriac.*

[l] *Lib.* 4. *Ep.* 8.

[m] *In* Ι. ad ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκλὶ παρατεταγμένοι.

[n] Caſaub. *in Athen. p.* 931.

[o] *Chronol. Eclog.*

[p] *In* 4° *num.* 24. *p.* 264.

Roman.	*Macedon.*	*Hebrew.*	*Egypt.*	*Hellen.*	*Athenian.*
Ἰανουάριος.	Αἰγὸκαρως.	Σάβας.	Τυβί.	Αὐτναῖος.	Ἑκατομβαιών.
Φεβρουάριος.	Ὑδροχόος.	Ἀβας.	Μαχαίρ.	Περίτιος.	Μεταγειτνιών.
Μάρτιος.	Ἰχθύες.	Μεσάν.	Φαμενώθ.	Δύστρος.	Βοηδρομιών.
Ἀπείλλιος.	Κριός.	Ἰάβ.	Φαρμοῦθι.	Ξανθικός.	Πυανεψιών.
Μάϊος.	Ταῦρος.	Ψεδουάν.	Παῦνι.	Ἀρτεμίσιος.	Μαιμακτηριών.
Ἰούνιος.	Δίδυμος.	Θαμνί.	Παυνί.	Δαίσιος.	Ποσειδεών.
Ἰούλιος.	Καρκῖνος.	Ἀβ.	Ἐπηφί.	Πάνημος.	Γαμηλιών.
Αὔγουστος.	Λέων.	Βὰλ.	Μεσορί.	Λῶος.	Ἀνθεστηριών.
Σεπτέμβριος.	Παρθένος.	Θοθεί.	Θυσία.	Γορπιαῖος.	Ἐλαφηβολιών.
Ὀκτώβριος.	Ζυγός.	Μερκάν.	Φαωφί.	Ὑπερβερεταῖος.	Μυνυχιών.
Νοέμβριος.	Σκορπίος.	Χαλίβ.	Ἁθυρί.	Δίος.	Θαργηλιών.
Δεκέμβριος.	Τοξότης.	Τιβήθ.	Χοιάκ.	Ἀπολλαί.	Σκιροφοριών.

In which Table, although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Month *January*, yet it appears not that *Hecatombæon* was ever ſo removed out of his place, as [q] *Petitus* will have it; *Epiphanius* contradicting; of which by and by. Indeed when the Chriſtians in honour of their *Eaſter* began the year in *April*, they called *April Hecatombæon*; as [r] he himſelf teſtifies. But that *Hecatombæon* was always the firſt Month is not probable. For when the *Athenians*, under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's ſucceſſours, changed the head of the year from *July* to the ſeventh of *October*, it is like that they began at *Mæmacterion* according to this † rule,

[q] *Eclog. Chr. p.* 214.

[r] *Loco Laud.*

† *Ex MS. Biblioth.* Bodleianæ. *in* 8°. *n.* 8.

Μαιμακτηριών.	Ἀνθεστηριών.	Θαργηλιών.	Μεταγειτνιών.
Ποσειδεών.	Ἐλαφηβολιών.	Σκιροφοριών.	Βοηδρομιών.
Γαμηλιών.	Μυνυχιών.	Ἑκατομβαιών.	Πυανεψιών.

[s] *Vide* Petav. *in* Epiphan. *p.* 138.

[t] Certain it is that the ſame *Attick* Months are ſometimes Lunary, and ſometimes not, but of 30 d. or *Julian*; when they are Lunary they have no ſure ſeat, but are now at this time, then at another. And this hath been the reaſon why the ſame Months have not been ſuted to the *Julian* by Writers. *Ulpian* on *Demoſthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to [u] *January*, and in the Oration for *Cteſiphon* to *March*, and again to [x] *April*;

[u] *Pag.* 21.

[x] *April*; [y] *March*, he calls *Boedromion*, which alſo he interprets [z] *June*. *Elaphebolion*, [a] *November*, [b] *September*, (in the Margin *February*) and [c] *December*. [d] *Thargelion*, *April*. *Munychion*, *January*. *Scirrophorion*, *March*. Which errours are curſorily noted by * *Petitus* in part, to no great ſatisfaction. But when by the decree of *Auguſtus Cæſar* they were charged to conform their year to the *Julian*, they [f] thus numbred,

[x] *Pag.* 163.
[y] *In* Olynth. 3.
[z] *Pag.* 148.
[a] *Pag.* 140.
[b] *Pag.* 167.
[c] *Pag.* 120.
[d] *Pag.* 167.
* *Eclog. Chr. l.* 1. *c.* 6. *p.* 213.
[f] *Vide* Petav. *in* Epiphan. *p.* 139.

Menſes Attici.	*Menſes* Juliani.	*Menſes* Attici.	*Menſes* Juliani.
Ἐλαφηβολιών.	*March.*	Βοηδρομιών.	*September.*
Μυνυχιών.	*April.*	Μαιμακτηριών.	*October.*
Θαργηλιών.	*May.*	Πυανεψιών.	*November.*
Σκιρροφοριών.	*June.*	Ποσιδεών.	*December.*
Ἑκατομβαιών.	*July.*	Γαμηλιών.	*January.*
Μεταγειτνιών.	*August.*	Ἀνθεστηριών.	*February.*

But of this, ſo much onely. We muſt handle their Lunary year, becauſe according to them were their Feaſts kept. From whence ſometimes they would count, as [g] Τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὅσον ἀπὸ Διονυσίων, *So much, and as long ſince the Bacchanals*; ſpeaking of the age of a Girl. For a more compendious way of comprehending their Holidays, view this Almanack.

[g] Ariſtoph. *p.* 806.

Hecatombæon, July.

1	Πρώτη ἱσταμένου.	Πρωτανεία πρώτη.
2	Τρίτη.	* Καθόδῳ Θησέως εἰς Ἄστυ. Kept in memory of the return of *Theſeus* out of *Crete*, after he had ſlain the *Minotaure*, [h] *Plutarch.*
3	Τετάρτη.	
4	Πέμπτη.	
5	Ἕκτη.	The ſolemnity [i] *Ovid* ſeems to deſcribe:
6	Ἑβδόμη.	*Nullus Erechthidis fertur celebratior illo*
7	Ὀγδόη *.	*Illuxiſſe dies*, &c.
8	Ἐνάτη.	The eighth day of every Month was ſacred to him. He had alſo a Feſtival called *Theſeia*, in honour of gathering together the diſperſed people of *Attica*.
9	Δεκάτη.	

[h] *In Vit. p.* 12.
[i] *Metamorph. l.* 7. *Fab.* 23. *Vide illum diligenter: nam erit operæ pretium.*

10 Πρώτη μεσήνη.

11 Δευτέρα. Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. α'.

12 Τρίτη. Κρόνια.

Of these, as also of the day, speaks [k] *Demosthenes.* Then did the Masters wait on their Servants, as in the Roman Saturnals, [l] *L. Accius.*

Maxima pars Graium Saturno, & maximè Athenæ
Conficiunt sacra, quæ Cronia esse iterantur ab illis,
Cùmque diem celebrant, per agros, urbésque ferè omnes
Exercent epulis læti, famulósque procurant
Quisque suos ——

20 Δεκάτη Φθίνοντος. Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. ϛ'.

Hence was this Month called by the ancient *Athenians* Κρόνιος; afterwards *Hecatombæon*, from Ἑκατόμβαια, Sacrifices to *Jupiter* or *Apollo*, some think with the bloud of an hundred Beasts: For so were they profuse in their Sacrifices. [m] *Ovid.*

27 Τρίτη †. Παναθήναια. *Taurorum sanguine centum.*

28 Δευτέρα. [n] The Scholiast of *Homer* says that *Hecatombe* may be used for five and twenty Beasts, whose feet make up the number of an hundred, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, ὅ ἐστιν ἐξ εἰκοσιπέντε ζώων.

† To *Minerva* the Protectress of their City, as hath been before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as [o] *Plutarch*, καὶ παναθήναια θυσίαν ἐποίησε κοινήν. At first they had the name Ἀθήναια, by *Erichthonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of Solemnization there were rare Shows exhibited to the people, such as Horse-races, Wrestling, dancing in Armour, called Πυρρίχη, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in procession the *Peplus*, or Robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Giants. All which you may reade in [p] *Meursius* at large, and [q] *Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

The second of this Month is called Τρίτη, because it hath but 29 days, and so always in *Cavus*.

Meta-

[k] *Pag.* 446. *contra* Timocrat.

[l] *In Annalib. vide* Macrob. *Sat. l.* 1. *c.* 7. *versus finem.*

* *Then were kept the* Μετοίκια *in memorial of their transmigration.* Plut. *p.* 8. *l.* 9. *By some it is termed* Ξυνοίκια. Aristoph. *p.* 700. Plut. *initio* Them. *l.* 12.

[m] *Metamorph.*

[n] *In* Il. α'. *p.* 6.

[o] *In Vita. p.* 8. *l.* 8.

[p] *In Panathenæis.*

[q] *Pag.* 140. 197. 180. 181. 167. 580. 650. 746.

Metagitnion, Auguſt.

From the Sacrifices of *Apollo* called Μήλαγείτνια.

1 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. γ'.
2
3
4 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. δ'.
5
6
7 Πρυτανεία δευτέρα.
8
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16
17 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. α'.
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26 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. ϛ'.
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* Boedro-

* *Boedromion*, September.

1
2 Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pausanias* and *Aristides* overthrew *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his General near *Platæa*, a City of *Bœotia*, [r] *Herodotus*, ‖ *Justin.*
3
4
5 Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. *Miltiades* leader of the *Attick* Forces got the upper hand of the *Persians*. In which Battel when *Cynegirus* pursued the flying enemies to their Ships, he caught hold of one with his right hand, which lost, he made use of his left; that cut off, he in token of his prowess spared not his teeth, to the eternizing of his name for valour against his enemies.
6 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. γ'.
7
8
9 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. δ'.
10
11 † Χαριστήρια Ἐλευθερίας.
12 † In thankfulness for the delivery of *Greece*, at what
13 time *Darius* and his Fleet went homeward. [s] *Aristides*
14 * Ἀγερμὸς Μυστήρια. describes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Altar to *Jupiter* that freed them.
15
16 * The greater, in which they were made [t] ἐποπται,
17 or admitted to the sight of that they worshipped.
18 The first day was called ἀγερμὸς, perhaps from the
19 conflux of the people. The second ἅλαδε Μύστα, be-
20 cause the Crier then warned them to go to the Sea.
21 The third day they sacrificed a Barbel, because it de-
22 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. α'. vours the Sea-hare, an enemy to man. The fourth, two Oxen
23 drew a Basket representing *Proserpine* gathering Flow-
24 ers, which women following cried, Χαῖρε Δήμητερ, *Hail*
25 *Ceres*. The fifth, they ran with torches; hence λαμ-
26 παδηδρομία, and λαμπάδων ἡμέρα. The sixth, *Bacchus* was
27 carried in pomp, hence it is termed Ἴακχος. The se-
28 venth day they exercised in feats of activity, and he
29 that overcame had Wheat given him. The eighth
was *Epidauria* from *Æsculapius* his coming from *Epi-*
daurus

* *From this Month came the Feasts* Boedromia, *from* Theseus *overthrowing the* Amazons. Plut. *p.* 9. *or* Ion *helping the* Athenians *against* Eumolpus Βοηδρομεῖν *to aid, because in necessity they made a cry.* Aristophan. Βοὴν ἴσασι Lucian. Βοηδρομίων, Latini *Quiritari, hence help came in.*

[r] Calliop. *p.* 234. ‖ *Lib.* 3.

[s] *Tom.* 1. *p.* 157. *see* Plut. *in* Arist. *p.* 241.

[t] *Sch.* Arist. *p.* 247.

Here I look on Meursius *for brevity's sake; but if you please to reade severally, see* Aristoph. *Sch. p.* 85. 98. 131. 138. 455. 529. 647. 142. 218. 227. 228. 231. 232. 217. 262. 264. 516. Aristid. *T.* 1. *p.* 323. Clem. Alex. *in Protrep. p.* 10.

daurus to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two measures of Corn, and setting one a[illegible]t, and the other at West, they poured them out, one looking to heaven and crying ὗε, the other to the ground, saying, πλοῦτε. Thus *Meursius*. That day was πανημοχέη.

The second of this Month was left out ever, says [v] *Plutarch*, instead of which some are perswaded, the name onely was omitted, as τετράδη for τεῖτη, which was recompenced by ἐνδεκάτη φθίνοντος, or ἰσαμόδος, as in a defective Month δεκάτη φθίνοντος, for the twentieth. Of this judgment is the worthy [x] *Petavius*.

[v] *Sympos. Q. l. 9. p. 6. & in l. de Φιλαδελφίας. p. 331.*

[x] *Lib. de Doctr. Temp. 1. c. 5. p. 11. D.*

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* *Pyanepsion*, October.

* Mæmacterion *is to be inserted here.*

This Month took denomination from the Feasts *Pyanepsia*. For mingling the remainder of their food after their arriving they put it into one pot, and seething it, were jovial altogether at the same.

1
2 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. ϛ'.
3
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5
6
7 Πυανέψια. After that *Theseus* had buried his Father,
8 he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if
9 he returned safe from the death of the *Minotaure*, he
10 would sacrifice unto him a pot of sodden Beans. Hence
πυανέψια, as it were, κυαμέψια. For the Ancients called
11 [y] Ἀνοδος εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια. [Beans πύανος.
12 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. γ'.
13
14 Θεσμοφόρια. [y] *Plautus* calls this Festival *Vigilias Cereris*, which the *Attick* Dames kept
15 most sober and chaste, strowing their Beds with *Conyza* for

[y] *In Aul.*

16 for that purpose, it being an enemy to lust. They
17 prepared themselves with fasting, but after that, took
18 Πρυλανείϊα. δ'. their liquour freely. The number
19 of days were three allotted, as some;
20 or four, as others. When *Castellanus* says that *Ovid*
21 makes them nine, its false; for that was the *Mysteria*,
22 as we above have shewn. They were done in honour
* Ἀπαλήρια. to *Ceres*, that gave laws first, as she is
23 termed Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος. Of these
24 you may reade [z] *Aristoph.* and his *Schol.*
25 * Kept this Month. When the Parents brought
26 their Children to their Tribes, to be enrolled, I sup-
27 pose for fear of deceit in Patrimonies. Then they
made merry for four days. The first was Δορπία. The
28 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. α'. second Ἀνάῤῥυσις. The third
Κρεῶπις. The fourth Ἐπίδεα.
29 In honour to *Minerva*. † *Meursius* teaches us that they
30 Χαλκεῖα. were celebrated the 17th of this Month,
but *Petitus* hath thus placed them.

[z] *Pag.* 611. 770. 782. 783. 819. 820. 829.

† *Græcia Feria. l.* 1.

Mæmacterion, November.

1 This Month is to be placed before *Pyanepsion*, as I
2 have above given notice, but in this Almanack I fol-
3 low *Petitus*, who so hath set it, though much against
4 the opinion of other learned: as Mr. *Selden*, *Petavius*,
5 and others, whom I would have you Reader to ac-
6 cept as for most approved.
7 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. β'.
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Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. γ'. *Plutarch* in the life of *Aristides*, says that the *Bœotians*, nay and *Greeks* send yearly some to sacrifice to the memory of those that died at *Platæa*, and every fifth year they have great pastimes, which [a] he sets down the manner of. [a] *Pag.* 241.

Πρυτανεία. δ'. This Month is derived from *Jupiter Mamactes*: for I suppose they first found Gods, afterwards Festivals to them. Not the Months first, and then named the Gods from them.

Posideon, December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Posidon*. For the first day of this Month was sacred to him, as [b] *Casaubon*. Hence he thinks it to be called Ποσειδεὼν ἡμέρα. [b] *In* Theoph. *Char. ult. p.* 336.

Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. α'.

* Λήναια. * *Dionysia τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς, without the City.* It seems when they had gathered in Vintage, and pressed their Grapes, Λῆνος, *Torcular*, then were they most jocund, as may appear out of that, *Like the voice of them that tread the Wine-press*, and in [c] *Oppian.* ἐπληνία χαίρειν. On which words [d] *Conradus Rittarspusius* takes Λῆναιὼν to be *January*. [c] Κωμη. α'. *ver.* 127. [d] *Pag.* 18.

Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. β'.

Ἄλωα. A Feast to *Ceres*. The day doubtful. * *Demosth.* * *Pag.* 743.

17
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23 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. γ'.
24
25
26 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. δ'.
27
28
29 Πρυτανεία. ε'.
30

Gamelion, January.

1 From the Marriages firſt made by *Cecrops*, of whom
2 before we have ſpoken, and more you may reade in
3 *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*. That Month wherein this peo-
4 ple coupled, hence is called *Gamelion*, from Γάμος,
5 *Nuptiæ*. It is ſacred to *Juno*, who by the Poets is cal-
6 led *Pronuba* and *Conjugalis*, Preſident of Weddings and
7 the Marriage-bed.
8
9 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. α.
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18 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. ϛ'.
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28 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. γ'.
29

Anthesterion, February.

1
2 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. δ'.
3
4
5 Πρυτανεία. ζ'.
6
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11 Ἀνθεστήρια. Kept in great mirth for three days in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first Πιθοι- *See* Aristoph. *p.* 293. 417. 419. 422. 222.
12 για from πίθος the tubs, and οἴγειν to open, for at the
13 broaching of their vessels they drunk stifly. The se-
14 cond Χοαὶ from *Chus*, a good capacious vessel. In this
15 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. α'. he that could drink down the rest of his companions had a *The day was called* Χύτροι *likewise, but not in the sense spoken.*
16 golden crown. The third Χύτρα, I suppose different
17 from Χύτροι. From this Festival the Month is named.

18 The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Limnis* were kept,
19 called μεγάλα & ἐρχαιότερα. The thirteenth were acted
20 Comedies, begun the 3d year of the 93d Olympiad,
21 when *Callias* was *Archon*. But after they were taught
22 as [a] *Donat.* and [b] *Ulpian* witness, and [c] *Aristophanes*, ὅτε
23 πλῆθος σωρρέχει ἐπιθυμοῦν τὰ χαινὰ δραμάτια βλέπειν, says one.
24 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. ϛ'.
25
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[a] *In* Terent. *p.* 289.
[b] *In* Demost. *p.* 184.
[c] *Pag.* 143.

Elaphebolion, March.

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4 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. γ'.
5
6
7 Θυσία Ἀσκληπίων. Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. δ'.
8
9
10 Πρυτανεία. ι'.
11
12
13
14
15
16 Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ, Of these * *Æschines* makes
17 them obvious every where in Greek Authours. mention, and you shall have

[b] *Contra* Ctesiphon.

18
19
20 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. α'.
21
22
23
24
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29 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. ϛ'.

Munychion, April.

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10 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. γ'.
11
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13 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. δ'.
14
15
16 Μυνύχια. Πρυλανεία ἐνάτη. *Munychia* were observed to *Diana*, who was
17 so called, and had a Temple in *Munychia*, by *Athens*.
18 The Month bears the name. In this Month were the causes of strangers adjudged. [a] *Arist. Sch.* 19

[a] *Avib. p. 609.*

19 Διάσια. To *Jupiter Meilichius.* The greateſt day that the *Attick* rout was kept in. See of this [b] *Ariſtophanes* and [c] *Euſtathius.*

[b] *Pag.* 150. 174.
[c] Iſmen. & Iſm. *l.* 1.

20
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26 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. α'.
27
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Thargelion, May.

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5 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. β'.
6 Θαργήλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*; holding it to be their Nativity. On this day did they
7 expiate for the ſins of the people. For they were
8 wont to nouriſh ſome baſe men, and of no account,
9 at the publick charge, whom in time of peſtilence,
10 or the like, they ſacrificed for the ſins of the City;
[d] *In Equi. p.* 353. 11 two in number, ſays the [d] *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes*;
12 whence they were called Δημόσιοι: but more properly
* *In Ranis.* 13 καθάρματα & φαρμακοὶ * *Ariſtophanes.*
14
15 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. γ'.
16
17
18 Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. δ'.

19

19
20 Βενδίδεια. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is named Βένδις.
21 Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the greater. See *Meurſius.*
22 Καλλυντήρια. Πλυντηρία. ι'.
23
24 Πλυντήρια. *Petitus* places it on the 24th day, others will have the 25th. To *Minerva*, on which they take off the ornaments of her
25 26 Statue, and waſh it I ſuppoſe. [f] *Plutarch*, [g] *Xenophon.*
27
28
29

[f] *Pag.* 152.
[g] Ἑλλω. α'. *p.* 257.

Scirrophorion, June.

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12 Σκίρα. To *Minerva* from Σκίρον, *a Canopy*, under which her Prieſts did walk in pomp at that
13 time: or from the Statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus.*
14 [h] *Schol. Ariſtoph.*
15 Βοηδρόμια. It was not lawfull anciently to kill an Ox: wherefore when one had ſeen that
16 Beaſt eating the Meal provided for the Sacrifice, he
17 ſlew him and fled, in memory of which this day was
18 kept. Afterwards they did mitigate the Law, and

[h] *Pag.* 497. 725.

19

gave licence to butcher an Ox, ſo that he was not for the plough. To which [i] *Juvenal* may allude,

Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. γ'. ——*Ut vetulus Bos*
Qui domini cultris tenue & miſerabile collum
Præbet, ab ingrato jam faſtiditus aratro.

Κυρία Ἐκκλησία. δ'.

Πρυτανεία ἡ φυλὴ πρώτη, &c. Where *Petitus* makes the four firſt Tribes to govern each his day, on thoſe four that abounded above the year. *Sigonius* ſeems to agree, and [k] *Mauſſacus* approves it. Neither is it miſliked by [l] *Petavius*. [m] *Scaliger* hath falſely taught us otherwiſe, who maketh each *Prytaneia* to rule 36 days, which none ever are to have done, except the firſt four.

[i] *Satyr.* 10. *ver.* 268.

[k] *Athen. Rep. l.* 2. *c.* 3.
[l] *In notis ad* Harpocra. *De Doct. Temp. l.* 2. *c.* 1.
[m] *De emend. Temp. l.* 1.

CAP. XI.

De Tragœdia, Satyra & Comœdia.

IT is taken for granted among the Ancients, that *Homer*, who lived [a] 937 years before Chriſt, was the firſt that taught [b] Τραγικῶς λέγειν, *to ſpeak in Tragedy*; comprehending great and many matters in few words and very conciſely, being more large and uſing circumlocutions in matters of leſs conſequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragedian. This foundation being laid, following Ages ſtill built (though rudely) a ſtructure to ſmall perfection. *Nam poſt illius tale tantúmque documentum*, &c. ſays [c] *Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the *Iliads* had repreſented a Tragedy, by the *Odyſſes* a Comedy, moſt ingenious imitatours took thoſe Poems and ſet them in order, and divided them, which at that time were inconſiderately and without judgment written, impoliſht, and in the firſt rudi-

[a] *Vid. Can. Chro. ad Gr. Epoch. Mar.* Arund. *p.* 97.
[b] Hermog. *de Eloq. Meth. p.* 561. *c.* 33. Euſtath. *in Præf. ad Iliad.*
[c] *Tract. de Trag. & Comœd. Præfat.* Terentio.

rudiments not ſo neat and trim, as in proceſs of time they were made. For Poeſie was a great while in her minority, and very rude, after the firſt publiſhing of Plays. For we ſee little or nothing of [d] *Suſarion*, the firſt Comedian, worth our time: ſome few verſes onely, and ſo few as may but witneſs ſuch an Authour. The original of the word Comedy is ſuppoſed to be taken from divers reaſons: Firſt, becauſe in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they ſung them, and ſo it may be derived from κῶμος *commeſſatio*; * κωμάζειν, ſignifying ὑπὸ μέθης αἰσχρῶς ᾄδειν, *to ſing baſely at the cup*. Secondly, from κῶμα, *ſleep*; becauſe when any of the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the cuſtome (as before hath been ſpoken) for the party abuſed, to come in the night ſeaſon into the ſtreets, and with a loud voice cry, ſuch and ſuch rejoyce in wrong, commit ſome outrages, though there be Gods and Laws. And after that proclaimed the parties names, who on the morrow was ſought out by the husbandmen and much ſhamed; by which theſe wrongs were redreſſed. Thirdly, from κώμη, *a ſtreet*, becauſe when the old *Athenians* would note a wicked man's life out to the world, meeting merrily in the ſtreets and high ways, they laid open every man's life, and concealed not his name, [f] *In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis læti, alacréſque veniebant: ibique cum nominibus ſingulorum vitam publicabant*. Theſe verſes were firſt ſung [g] in the green Meadows, [h] about the beginning of the ſpring; when the husbandmen kept the Feſtivals of *Bacchus* the God of Wine, to whom they ſacrificed a Goat, becauſe his biting is an enemy to the Vine; the skin of which they took and ſowed up cloſe, filled with wine, and anointed it with oil to make it ſlippery, and ſo hopped with one leg upon it, making themſelves laughter at the falls they often took. This ſport they call ἀσκωλιάζειν from ἀσκὸς, *a skin*, and ἅλλεσθαι, *to leap*. [i] *Ariſtophanes*. Ἀσκωλιάζ ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τῇ αἰθρίαν. [k] *Virgil* hath fitly ſet it out.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Cæditur, & veteres ineunt proſcennia ludi:
Præmiáque [l] *ingentes pagos, & compita circum*

[d] *Marmo.* Arund. *& ad ea* Seld. CL. *Præfixa etiam* Ariſtoph. περὶ κώμῳ. δ'.

* *Sch. in* Naz. Stel. Γ'. p. 106.

[f] Donatus *de Tra. & Com.*

[g] *Idem ibid.*

[h] *In Synopſi vitæ* Ariſtoph. Th. Magiſter.

[i] Plut. *p.* 108.

[k] *Geor.* 2. *p.* 72.

[l] Iſa. Tzetzes, *in Proleg. ad Poetas, interprets* κώμας, μίμησα χωρία.

Theſeidæ poſuëre: atque inter pocula læti
Mollibus in pratis, unctos ſaliëre per utres.

After *Suſarion*, ſprang up *Theſpis*, the firſt that made Tragedies, which by *Horace* are termed, *Lacrymoſa Poemata, ſad Poems*; becauſe they repreſent humane miſeries, the misfortunes of Kings and great men eſpecially, there being no place for a poor man, but onely to dance, as [m] *Arrian* hath obſerved. Which thing gave an occaſion to [n] *Socrates*, when he ſaw the moſt worthy and rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants, to ſay to *Antiſthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did ſome famous exploit? So in Tragedies we mark that ſuch as *Atreus*, *Thyeſtes* and *Agamemnon* are ſlain; but what Poet was yet ſo impudent as to bring a baſe fellow on the ſtage ſacrificed? Nor ſupernumerary is that of *Euripides* for King *Archelaus*, deſiring that he would write a Tragedy of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragedy might happen to him; meaning ſorrow and lamentation. For ſo is Τραγῳδία uſed, as [o] Κωμῳδία for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The firſt Tragedy that *Theſpis* taught, was that of *Alceſtis* reprieving her husband from death by her own, as [p] Mr. *Selden* hath conjectured. This *Theſpis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragedies, as [q] ἀνωφελῆ ψευδολογίαν, *a fruitleſs lying*. *Horace* of him thus ſpeaks,

Ignotum Tragicæ genus inveniſſe camenæ
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe Poëmata Theſpis;
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora.

Upon which words ſome have written, that his Poems were ſo voluminous, that he was conſtrained to bring them upon Wains. But alas, a poor conceit! [r] *Franciſcus Luſinius Uticenſis* is of opinion, That *Theſpis* carried his ſcene upon Carrs; and *Acron*, *That the Chorus carried about in Wains acted Tragedies*, *Chori plauſtris circumducti Tragœdias agebant*. † I avouch that at the firſt the Poets acted alone their own Fables. And to me it ſeems a ground for to ſtand on, the Greek Authours by the word Ὑποκρίτης, intimating a Poet. Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Ὑποκρίτας, &c. The Ancients, ſays [t] *Ulpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas*, *Actors*, which we now term *Tragœdi*, ſuch as *Euripides*, *Ariſtophanes*, &c. The place in which they ſung

[m] *In* Epictet. *pag.* 93.
[n] Ælian. Var. *l.* 2. *c.* 11.
[o] Athen. *l.* 3. *p.* 90.
[p] *Ad Marm.* Arund.
[q] Laert. *in* Solone *p.* 40.
[r] *In* Horatii *Poetic.*
† *Schol.* Ariſt. *p.* 142.
[t] *In* Demoſt. *p.* 40.

ſung their Poems, was a Scene upon a Wain drawn in Proceſſion to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the *Greeks* the cuſtome was, ſays the Scholiaſt of [v] *Nazianzen.* Of the manner in thoſe ancient times, *[*] *Plutarch* ſhall thus inform you, Ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου καὶ κλημαλίς, &c. *A pot of wine and a vine twig*; then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs, and laſt of all the *Phallus.* In which Solemnity the Poets in Wains following the pomp, might without controll laugh, ſcorn and deride any they met, ſays [x] *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, or were wont, as the [y] *Schol.* of *Nazianzen*, to rail upon each other. Whence πομπεύειν, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in a good ſenſe ſometimes [z] to celebrate the pomp, or go in proceſſion in honour to the Feſtival) and [a] πομπεία, a ſcandal or reproach, ὕβεις, λοιδορία. Whence likewiſe came the Greek Proverb, [b] ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης λαλεῖν, *tanquam ex plauſtro loqui*, and ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης ὑβρίζειν, *tanquam ex plauſtro convitiari*, to give reins to the tongue, to be free in abuſe. Which that they might doe the better without ſhame, or bluſhing, ſometimes would they anoint their faces [c] *amurca, olei face, with the dregs of oil*, ſays *Donat.* or of wine (for ſo I interpret τρύγα) from which Poets by [d] *Ariſtophanes* are called Τρυγοδαίμονες. *Horace.*

——*perunctî facibus ora.*

Sometimes would they put on vizards, *which leſt they ſhould hurt the head were defended from the skin with a wollen cap named πιλίδιον. A word elegantly uſed by [f] *Demoſthenes*, in a Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunity of the perſons that wrote it, Οὐκ οἴει δίκην δώσειν πηλικούτων καὶ τοσούτων ἀδικημάτων κἂν πιλίδιον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, *Think not to eſcape ſcot-free for ſuch villany, though you get a Pileum on your head.* We may apply it in threatning to any ſlanderer of whom we ſurely intend to be revenged. But I ſeem to forget the Poet, while I ſpeak of the Stage, I will therefore return to him. *Theſpis*, as I ſaid, was the firſt that invented Tragedies, ſo called, as *Donat.* tells, becauſe (leſt there ſhould be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be ſtirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they

[v] *Stel. C. p.* 107.
[*] περὶ φιλόπλ. *p.* 343.
[x] *Antiq. Rom. l.* 7.
[y] *Loco laud.*
[z] Hermog. *Meth. de Eloquentia, c.* 2. *p.* 519.
[a] Dem. *pro Coron. p.* 134.
[b] *Schol.* Ariſt. *p.* 142.
[c] Ulpian. *in loc. cit.* Dem.
[d] *Nubibus. p.* 141.
[*] Ulpian *in* Dem. *p.* 254.
[f] *De falſa Legatione.*

gave the Actors a Goat. *Caper namque pro donô his dabatur.* Τρ᾽γ& is a Goat, and ᾠδὴ a Song. *Horace,*

Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob hircum.

Before that time some say that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragedies, but the most received opinion is this which *Horace* hath set down of *Thespis*. Before him there was no art of poesie Tragical, but at their Festivals, when they ascribed all their mirth and delight to their Gods, they did it especially to *Bacchus* (and so afterward, when Actors are called Διονύσου τεχνῖται, and τεχνῖται simply by [g] *Demosthenes*, by *Donat. Artifices*. The word is used for Juglers, and such as *Hocus Pocus* in [h] *Theophrastus*) they would feast and afterwards scoff and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their solemnity. They would moreover dance at rude Musick, and from thence suppose they the *Chorus* to have sprung up. They would likewise cast forth αὐτοσχεδιάσματα as they term them, in [i] *Virgil*'s language, *versus incomptos*, [k] *Numeros innumeros eo tempore fundi solitos & sine arte.* For they had of old but two sorts of verses, *Heroicks*, in which they sung the praise of Gods and Noblemen, and from this in a short time with small care grew a Tragedy; the other sort was *Iambicks* as toying and lascivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, and from hence came a Comedy. At first small was the difference between a Tragedy and Comedy, [l] *Constat sanè primis temporibus ignoratum fuisse discrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reason is because even Tragedies had their wantonness and petulancy. At first they sung in honour to *Bacchus Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praised their Demi-gods, which when the people saw they cried down, with Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, whence our proverbial adverb is fitly used ἀπροσδιονύσως, for nothing to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the Satyrs did *præludere*. But after that, when a Tragedy took state they excluded the Satyrs, and were onely for sad and serious persons, by which mournfull Poems the people were wont to be cast down, sympathizing with the person represented, therefore to cheer them up a *Chorus* of wanton Satyrs were brought in by *Thespis*, as [m] *Horace*,

[g] *Orat.* Φιλιππ. *p.* 242.

[h] *Charact. vid.* Casaub.

[i] *Georg.* 2.

[k] Casaub. *de Sat. Poesi. §.* 1.

[l] Casaub. *ib.*

[m] *De arte Poet.*

Max

Mox etiam agreſtes Satyros nudavit, & aſper
Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, eò quod
Illecebris erat, & gratâ novitate morandus
Spectator, functúſque ſacris, & potus, & exlex.

In a ſatyrick Play, Satyrs have a *Chorus* place, or elſe the perſons are ſatyrick and ridiculous, and for the eaſing of the minds of the ſpectatours, they would bring in Satyrs for ſports ſake; and many of their Tragedies had ſome mixture of ſatyrick ſport, ſays [n] *Caſaubon, Fuiſſe aliquando pluribus Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas.* Of this I ſay *Theſpis* was the firſt inventer; who likewiſe to eaſe the *Chorus* ([o] for that acted onely) brought one actor upon the Stage, to whom *Æſchylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, ſo the number was three, *Æſchylus*'s is δεύτεραγωνιστὴς, *Sophocles*'s τριταγωνιστὴς, a word put for an obſcure and baſe fellow in [p] *Demoſthenes, Ulpian,* ὡς ἀδοκιμάτου καὶ ὑποκείσων, ſpeaking of *Æſchines*, if I remember. *Tully* calls them Actors *ſecundarum & tertiarum partium.* [q] *Ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus, ſepe illum qui ſecundarum & tertiarum partium, cùm poſſit aliquanto clarius dicere quàm ipſe primarum, multum ſummittere, ut ille princeps quàm maximè excellat.* But let me ſpeak what I have to ſay of a Tragedy. [a] None was permitted once to act *Æſchylus, Æuripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragedies, but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the Actors might (as I conceive) repeat them. Τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις, ἂν ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτὰς ὑποκρίνεσθαι. And to this purpoſe by a Law of *Lycurgus* the Oratour, were they commanded to be tranſcribed, and kept under cuſtody ἐν κοινῷ. Yet the [b] Authour of the life of *Æſchylus* writes, that the people made a decree, that he ſhould receive ſuch a ſum of gold, that would διδάσκειν the Plays of *Æſchylus* after his death. I put the word διδάσκειν, *docere.* Becauſe Tragedians as well as the Comedians were ſaid εἰς διδασκαλῶν τῶν θεσπιῶν ἐργαζόμενοι, to labour in teaching the people. And for this end did the Ancients lay out ſo much money upon their Theatres. [c] *Sed immane quos quantóſque ſumptus, in Theatra, in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum repræſentationem fecerit antiquitas. Cùm non mores tantùm ab utriſque eman-*

[n] *P.* 126. *de Sat. Poeſi.*

[o] Laert. *p.* 220.

[p] *Pag.* 184.

[q] *In Divinat.*

[a] Plutarch. *in vita* X. *Rhet. p.* 452. b.

[b] *Juxta finem.*

[c] Heinſius *Prolog. ad* Ariſtarchum *Sacrum.*

emendari, & prudentiam conferri, ſed & ſcripta antiquiſſima & formas Reipublicæ, ac vitam magiſtratuum, cum ſummo ſpectatorum fructu, in Comœdia examinari, factiones componi, ac graviſſima ſubinde publico ſuppeditari crederent conſilia. Not unfitly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theatre, *I came hither to teach you, and not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragedy or Comedy the Greek writers ſay, [d] διδασκάλια, *docetur Fabula*, and διδάσκειν, *docere*, as ſometime ἀκούειν, as you may ſee in * *Athenæus*. The following Poets did not always repreſent their own Fables, but oft-times their predeceſſours: ſo ſays [f] *Quintillian*; the people permitted the Work of *Æſchylus* to be dealt with, becauſe in many places his Verſes were not ſet in order. He brought great grace to the Stage, and firſt taught σκηνογραφίαν, *the painting of the Scenes*, which ſome think *Horace* to aim at, when he ſays,

[d] Athenæus *Dip. lib. 6. p. 268. vid.* Caſaub.
* *Pag.* 270.
[f] *Lib.* 10.

—— *modicis inſtravit pulpita ſignis.*

Which becauſe it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay ſpoken affirmatively by ſome) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did πολλὰ καινουργεῖν, *bring in many new things:* ſuch as leaving out the action of the Poet (for before the Poet himſelf acted) by reaſon of the badneſs of his own voice; he found out white Shoes which the Actors and Dancers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelve; he fitted likewiſe his Tragedies to the natures of the Actors, *&c.* But that he invented σκιαγραφίαν I cannot find. Somewhat likewiſe was added by *Euripides:* [g] as to ſet out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragedy, as you may obſerve; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the laſt and principal point of that one action which he would repreſent, which by the glory of our Nation [h] Sir *Phil. Sidney* is not paſt by as frivolous, without noting. Theſe three were the Princes of the Tragick ſtyle, who exhibited to the People every year at ſome certain ſolemnities their Poems, ſtriving who ſhould get the victory by the approbation of Judges, choſen for that purpoſe, called [i] Διονυσιακοὶ Κρίται, and [k] Κρίται ἐπὶ Διονυσίων. Ten in number, think ſome, at firſt, gathering out of *Plutarch*,

[g] T. Magiſter.
[h] *In the defence of Poeſie.*
[i] Heinſius *in Proleg. ad* Ariſtarchum *Sacrum.*
[k] Æſchines *cont.* Creſiph.

Plutarch, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Becauſe when he had brought the Reliques of *Theſeus* out of *Scyrus*, *Aphepſion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, choſe not the Judges as ſoon as the Theatre was filled, and Spectators placed; but preſently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captains, of each Tribe one, after accuſtomed ſacrifice he ſwore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young; for which *Æſchylus* grieving went into *Sicily*, where he died, and was buried near [l] *Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of theſe Critick Judges was always ten. This we acknowledge done in teſtimony of high acceptation of *Cimon*'s ſervice. And yet in judgment upon Tragedians, the number might be ſo great. For there ſeems to be a difference between the Judges of Tragedies and Comedies. The number of Tragick Judges, grant we haply to be ſuch as we ſpeak; the power incontrollable, as from whom there was no appeal to others. [m] *Cùm neque provocatio ab iis eſſet, neque de quibus illi judicarent, magiſtratus cæteri ſententiam pronunciarent.* The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek Proverb, [n] Πέντε κριτῶν ἐν γέλωσι κεῖται, *Sub quinque judicibus lis eſt.* The [o] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaks ſomewhat uncertain. Judges, quoth he, paſs cenſures upon the Comedians, and they who had five voices were happy. Thoſe were all. For if there had been ten of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poet's felicity to have had equal voices. For the odd gave a great ſtroke. Hence wiſhes the *Chorus* in the behalf of the Poet —— Ἑνὶ κριτῇ νικᾶν μόνον, *to be Victor by one voice onely.* Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Judges had free liberty of ſuffrages beyond the power of the people, the *Comick* had not: For when *Ariſtophanes* taught his Νεφέλας, they ſo much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conqueror, Καὶ πρωτεύειν τοῖς κριταῖς ἄνωθεν Ἀριστοφάνους, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλου γε δόξειν, ſays [p] *Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Ariſtophanes* uppermoſt (as the faſhion was, which [q] *Ariſtophanes* calls πρωτεύειν ἐν πυκνίοις, the moſt excellent firſt, the next to him ſecond, and the

[l] Plut. Cimone p. 352. l. 39.

[m] Heinſius *loco laudato.*

[n] Zenobius.

[o] *Ad Aves.* p. 562.

[p] Var. *H.* l. 2.

[q] *Avib.* p. 562.

the next to him third, which was no ſmall praiſe, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honeſtum eſt in ſecundis tertiiſve conſiſtere)* and no other. For which cauſe I ſuppoſe the Poets before reciting, were wont to ſacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and Spectatours,

r *Loco laud.* r *Ariſtophan.*

Ὄμνυμ' ὀθνεῖα τύτοις πᾶσι νικᾶν τοῖς κριταῖς
Καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι——

Where the Scholiaſt interprets ὄμνυμι truly as it is to be underſtood, εὔχομαι, *to ſupplicate.* And good reaſon; For if they pleaſed not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with ſtones. To which uſe † *Ariſtophanes* points, ſaying, ——ἐκ ἐθέλειν· nay, ſometimes would they hiſs them, which they term χλωάζειν and συείπειν· ſometimes ſtamp them out of the Theatre, which they call πέρνοκοπεῖν, by t *Pollux* interpreted ἐδώλια ἢ πέρνας κλαγγέειν. Another difference is that v the *Comick* Judges were puniſhed if they judged not right; the *Tragick* not ſo. And for theſe reaſons have ſome conjectured, nay poſitively written, that their Judges were of two ſorts, old and new; in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they confounded both, making no odds between the Critick Judges of Tragedies, and Comedies: But of this, Reader, you may determine as your Authours ſhall afford authority. Before Judges, as I ſaid, the Poets in emulation preſented their labours, and they who in their opinion loſt the day, were ſaid * ἐκπίπτειν, by x *Caſaubon* interpreted *non ſtare.* The time of exhibiting their Tragedies, were the holy days of *Bacchus*, called *Dionyſia in Agris*, or *Lenæa*, in the Month *Poſideon*; on the *Antheſteria*, or *Dionyſia* in *Limnis*, in the Month *Antheſterion*; on *Dionyſia in Urbe*, in the Month *Elaphebolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thraſylus* in y *Laertius*, which ſome deny; yet the ſame write, that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this Feſtival. I ſay but one, becauſe it was a cuſtome among the Poets of ancient days to entertain their people with more plays than one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modò ſingulas committerent fabulas, modò plures*, ſays z *Caſaubon*: ſome-

† *Ranis. p.* 248.

t *Lib. 6. c. 19. p.* 203.

v Æſchines *contra* Cteſiph. *p.* 98.

* Heinſius *Prolegom.*

x *Sat. Poeſi.*

y Platone *p.* 220.

z *De Satyrica Poeſi. p.* 131.

ſometime in the ſame year three, and then was it called τριλογία; ſometime four, and then they ſtyled it, πεντάλογία. [a] Τὰ δὲ πέντε δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ. Whereof, ſays my Authour, the fourth was a ſatyrical Play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the ſame man, as thoſe of *Æſchylus*, named therefore *Oreſtia*; to wit, Ἀγαμέμνων. Χοηφόροι. Εὐμενίδες. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the ſame ſubject, as that of *Euripides*. *Medea, Philoctetes, Dictys*. The fourth was Θερισταί, ſays the Authour of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter ſeems to me not to reach to the expreſſion of the Greek word Θερισταί, Σάτυροι: *Meſſores, Satyros*; he ought to have rendred it thus, *Meſſores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word bears this ſenſe is ſufficiently dilucidated by [b] *Caſaubon*. That the greateſt task of action lay on the *Chorus* is as apparent as the Sun at noon. The number of them in Comedies were twenty four, and ſix *juga* (each *jugum* conſiſting of four; but στοῖχοι four, each στοῖχος ſix men) in Tragedies fifty; untill the time of *Æſchylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which ſo terrified the people, [c] that the children and younger ſort fainted, and the women ſuffered abortion; for which reaſon, ſays *Pollux*, the number was leſſened (which ſome deny) by law. They were by that Act brought to fifteen, five *juga*. I ſay *juga*, becauſe they were divided into στίχους, and ζυγά. Ζυγὸν was when the *Chorus* entred by three, and then it was called κατὰ ζυγὰ πάροδον, by file. Στοῖχον, when they came on the Stage in ranke five at a time; and this they term κατὰ στίχους. Sometimes one of them entred alone, which they ſay κατ' ἴαμα. Of interlocutours the Ancients for the moſt part never had above three; but if a fourth ſpake, that they named παραχορήγημα, and if the *Chorus* ſupplied the part of a fourth Actor, it was ſtyled παρατιλώιον. To ſpeak of the ſeveral Verſes of Tragedies, is *actum agere*: and I had rather ſpeak of the action, than the art in compoſing, and yet not much, onely this of their motions, termed στροφαὶ and ἀντιστροφαί. Στροφὴ, ſays the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*, is a turning from the

[a] Laertius *loco citato*.

[b] *Lib. laudat.*

[c] *Author vitæ Æſchyl.*

right hand to the left, in Analogy to the motion of the universe τὰ πάντα, from the *East* to the *West*; because *Homer* calls the *East* the right hand, the *West* the left: Contrary to the *Hebrews*, who term the *South Iamin*, which signifies the right hand, and the *North* they counted the left. Ἀνλιστροφὴ, was a turning from the *West* to the *East*, that is, from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another posture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be so in Tragedies, as in Lyrick Musick, which I believe) to express the immobility of the earth they stood still. They used *Epodes* for the most part at the end of the Acts, when the Players avoided the Stage. Thus much of Tragedies; the Authours of which were highly of old esteemed of; insomuch as after the dismal discomfeit of the [d] *Athenians* in *Sicily*, they were relieved, who could repeat somewhat of *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by * *Lycurgus*, and established in *Athens*, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides* had Statues erected in brass for the continuation of their memory. After Tragedies had proceeded to perfection, Comedies were with great applause taught, as [f] *Horace*,

Successit vetus his Comœdia, non sine multâ
Laude ——

He says, *vetus Comœdia*, because a Comedy was divided into three, or if you please so to speak, two sorts, the Old, and New. I said three sorts, because [g] the old was different from it self. The meaning is, that the old Comedy, of which *Susarion* (by some named *Sannyrion*,) was Authour, tended onely to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the smoaking Altars, sung *simplex Carmen*, some naked Verses, says *Donat*. Which by *Cratinus* was redressed; for he ordained three Actors, and mingled with his sport profit, I mean for instruction. For under the *Democracy* it was lawfull to exagitate and propose for a laughing stock Captains and corrupt Judges, Citizens given to bribery, and such as lead a dissolute life; naming the men upon the Stage, and fitting the Actors with Vizards bearing the shape of those whom they intended to deride. But as the State grew to an

[d] Plut. *in fine vitæ* Niciæ.

* Plut. *in vit. X. Resp* Paus. *Atticis. p.* 18.

[f] *De arte Poetica.*

[g] Grammat. ἡ Παλαιὰ ἑαυτῆς διαφέρει.

an *Oligarchy*, that licence was taken away, *Eupolis* being caſt into the Sea by thoſe againſt whom he wrote his Comedy *Baptæ*, and ſo drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not [h] ὀνομαζὸν Κωμῳδεῖν, to name any whom they wrote the Comedy of. Of which *Horace*,

——*ſed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim*
Dignam Lege Regi. Lex eſt accepta, Chorúſque
Turpiter obticuit ſublato jure nocendi.

[h] Hermog. *Partiti. p. 76.*

But when *Alexander* of *Macedon* grew potent and a terrour to *Greece*, the Poets fearing leſt any of their abuſive wit might diſpleaſe the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their Plays, and inſtead of abuſing States and People they fell upon ancient Poems, or ſome part of Hiſtory not truly written, perſonating the Actors ſo as to be moſt ridiculous; [i] ſometimes Scoffing on the Stage at mean men, and this they termed, Νέα Κωμῳδία, *The New Comedy*. But afterward it was a piece of their *Athenian* policy to forbid that the people ſhould be toſſed on the Stage, unleſs they would themſelves, ſays [k] *Xenophon*; knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier ſort, πλούσιοι, γεραιοὶ, δυνατοί. Some are of opinion that no Player came on the Stage untill thirty or forty; I diſpute not the matter; ſure I am that *Sophocles* taught his firſt Tragedy at twenty eight, in which doubtleſs himſelf came on the Stage. It being among the *Athenians* no diſgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. [l] *Æmilius Probus. In ſcenam verò prodire, & populo eſſe ſpectaculo nemini in eiſdem gentibus (Græcis) fuiſſe turpitudini:* [m] *quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atque ab honeſtate remota, ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld theſe Plays and paſtimes was in the Market-place, where they nailed Scaffolds to a black Poplar tree. For in ancient time they had no Theatre of Stone, onely of Wood, which they call Ἰκρία. [n] *Ariſtophanes.*

[i] Donat. *Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocribus fortunis agunt*, &c.
[k] Athen. *Rep.*
[l] *Præfatione ad vitas. p. 2.*
[m] Meurſ. *Att. Lect. l. 4. c. ult.*

——Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰκρίων
Ὑποκλέπτουσ' ἁμᾶς——

[n] Theſmoph. *pag. 787.*

Theſe were built by ſome, who upon ſome conſideration of money admitted any to a ſeat, named therefore [o] Θεᾶται.

[o] Caſaub. *in* Theoph. *p. 245.*

βῶται. Once it ſeems places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuſes. For ſtriving to get places, there roſe wrangling, and brawls, and fights; wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place ſhould be hired for two *oboli* (in the Conſulſhip of *Diaphantus*, a
[p] Zenobius. *Drachme*, ſay ſome, whence roſe the Proverb, [p] Δραχμὴ χαλάζα, becauſe at the eſtabliſhing of it, there fell hail.) This money they called θεωρικὸν, from θεωρεῖν· becauſe with it they did θέαν ἀγοράζειν, buy a ſeat to behold the Show exhibited. Now becauſe the poor people had not to give, and ſo were deprived of the ſpectacle, *Pericles* deſiring to be popular, made a law that they ſhould receive out of
[q] *Cont.* Leocha. *p.*617. n. 50. 51. the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man. [q] For the right of exacting which money, they were to produce the authority of the *Lexiarchical Rolls*, as appears out of *Demoſthenes*. For the diſtribution of this were certain Officers appointed named οἱ ἐπὶ θεωρικῷ. But afterwards *Apollodorus* ſtrove that in war and publick neceſſity, theſe ſums might be employed in military affairs, but he endeavoured in vain; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capital for any that ſhould attempt that which *Apollodorus* did; Which makes
[r] *Olynth.* 1. *p.* 7. [r] *Demoſthenes* deſiſt, willing, yet not daring to perſwade to convert the money to the uſe of the Army. But ſee the
† Lacon. *apud* Plut. *Mor. p.*421. folly of them! † For they ſpent as much on theſe Sports, as in obtaining the maſtery and liberty of *Greece*. And the end was miſerable: for they became effeminate, and
[s] *Lib.* 6. *fine.* ſo put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoke. [s] *Juſtin* of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amiſſo, quem æmulari conſueverant in ſegnitiem torporémque reſoluti, non ut olim in claſſem exercitúſque, ſed in dies feſtos, apparatúſque ludorum, reditus publicos effundunt: & cum actoribus nobiliſſimis, Poetíſque Theatra celebrant, frequentiùs ſcenam, quàm caſtra viſentes. Verſificatores Oratoréſque meliores, quàm duces laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum eſt. Quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut inter otia Græcorum, ſordidum & obſcurum antea, Macedonum nomen emergeret*, &c. Of the Theatre I will ſay little, as alſo of the Stage: onely that the places in the Theatre were

not

not promiſcuous. For there was a diſtinction between the Senatours and younger ſort. The Senatours were named [v] Βουλίκον, among which it is probable the Judges had the firſt place, as [x] *Pollux*. The Seats for the youth were called Ἐφηβικόν. One part of the Stage was *Orcheſtra*, in which was Θυμέλη, either a Tribunal, or an Altar. That upon all their Stages there was an Altar ſacred to *Bacchus*, is apparent out of *Donat.* he ſays it ſtood on the ſide of the Stage; before the Doors, *Pollux:* who names it Ἀλιδός. There was moreover a Table called Εἰλώς, on which before the time of *Theſpis* ſome body aſcending in the Poet's place, did anſwer the *Chorus*. [y] *Plutarch* thinks Θέατρον to be derived from Θεὸς, becauſe that before the building of Theatres the Ancients embracing *Muſick* onely for inſtitution of youth and praiſe of their Gods, ſung the commendation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples.

[v] Ariſtoph. p. 578.
[x] *Lib.* 4. *c.* 19. p. 202.
[y] *De Muſica.* p. 441.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAP. I.

De Legum latoribus Atticis, Νόμοι, ἄγραφοι καὶ ἔγγραφοι. Ψήφισμα. Προβούλευμα. *De ſanciendis Legibus.*

AS [a] *Juſtin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* Government, paſſing by the perpetual and decennial Conſuls, and naming onely the yearly: ſo hath he erred in the original of their Laws, making *Solon* the Father of them. But it ſeems otherwiſe. For, as [b] *Gerardus* hath obſerved, *Theſeus* gave Laws to the *Athenians*. And [c] *Plutarch* witneſſeth, that when he congregated the *Attick People*, and conſtituted a *Democraty*, he reſerved onely

[a] *Lib.* 2. *p.* 27.
[b] Ariſt. *Plut.* p. 67.
[c] *In* Theſeo. p. 8. *l.* 2.

onely to himself the government of war and custody of the laws; Δημοκρατίαν (φησὶ γὰρ) αὐτῷ μόνον ἀρχὴν πολέμου καὶ νόμων φύλακα χειροτονῆσαι. Add to this, that before the knowledge of letters and writing, it was a custome among the Ancients to sing their laws, lest they might forget them, used in the days of [d] *Aristotle* by the *Agathyrsi*, a people near to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the rules of Musick, for the true keeping of time, singing, and playing, are supposed to be called Νόμοι. Neither may it be thought otherwise, because all the notes of the [*] *Lydian*, *Hypolydian*, &c. *Dorick*, *Hypodorick*, &c. *Phrygian*, *Hypophrygian*, *Ionick*, &c. Songs were distinguished by the Alphabet. Yet [f] *Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from those bounds, which the Musicians of old prescribed, for the tuning of Voices or Instruments, lest they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it οἰκείαν τάσιν. [g] *Idem.* Νόμοι δὲ προσηγορεύθησαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ ἐξῶν παγκλώου καθήκοντα νενομισμένον εἶδον ἑκάστοις τάσεως. The *Greeks*, says [h] *Cicero*, think the cause of this word, *jus suum cuique tribuendo*, intimating νέμειν, which signifies to distribute, because the Law gives every man his due. Thus we see, that there were Laws of yore; let [i] *Justin* say, *Nullæ Civitati Leges tunc erant, quia libido Regum pro Legibus habebatur*; *That the City was without Law, because the wills of Kings were Laws.* In succeeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Laws; living about the three [k] hundred and ninth *Olympiad*. His Acts, says [l] *Ælian*, were called Θεσμοὶ, Ἐκαλοῦντο δ' ἐκεῖνοι θεσμοί. Now θεσμὸς by [m] *Ulpian* is interpreted Νόμου παραδειγμὸν πῶς δεῖ νομοθετεῖν, *A Law giving in precept how to make a Law.* And yet [n] *Aristotle* calls them Νόμους, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great severity. Which gave occasion to [o] *Herodicus* to say, that they were not the Laws of man, ἀλλὰ δράκοντος, in a double sense of the word, which is also put for a Dragon. And [p] *Demades*, that they were not written with black, but bloud: For he punished every peccadillo almost with death. Those that were convicted of idleness, or stealing of pot-herbs, alike to the sacrilegious and man-slayers. Wherefore they were

[d] *Problem.* τμ'. ἐφ'. πρ'. κη'. *fol.* 189. b.

[*] *Vide* Alypium *in Isagoge Musica.*

[f] *In libro de Musica.*

[g] *Loco citato. p.* 437.

[h] *De leg. lib.* 1. *fol.* 16. b.

[i] *Loco laud.*

[k] Clem. Alex. *p.* 226.

[l] *Variæ Hist. l.* 8. *c.* 10.

[m] *Arg. Orat. cont.* Lepti.

[n] *Polit.* 2. *c.* 10.

[o] Arist. *Rhet. l.* 2. *c.* 44.

[p] Plut. *in* Solone, *p.* 63. *l.* 2.

were made of none effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except those which concerned murther, intituled, * ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Him succeeded † *Solon*, a man so well tempered, and equal betwixt the Commons and the Peers, that he was beloved of both, having still a care, lest while he should side with one, he might displease the other. Whom, for his uprightness, ‖ *Juvenal* styles *Justum*, and for the care of the Republick, which ‡ *Demosthenes* averrs he had in all his Laws, † *Aristophanes* terms φιλόδημον, *a lover of the people*. ‖ *Plato* brings him learning his Laws from a *Barbarian*: And ¶ *Plutarch* tells us that he travelled afterwards into *Ægypt*. But it seems by ** *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Laws he had the approbation and judgment of the *Ægyptian* Priests. *Et Solon adjutus sententiis Ægypti Sacerdotum, latis justo moderamine legibus, Romano quoque juri maximum addidit firmamentum.* †† *Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. First, that all the *Ægyptians* were compelled to bring to the Governours of the Countries their names written, and by what means they sustained themselves; wherein if any were found false, or that lived by unjust gain, he fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a custome among them, that payment should be made onely with the goods of the debtor, and that the body should not suffer. For they thought the estate alone to be subject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither is it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergo hazard for their Country, should for usury be committed to Prison, or the Country be in jeopardy for the avarice of some one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the first Decree, as ‡‡ *Laertius* and † *Plutarch* say, of freeing the bodies; which, if there were not wherewithall to satisfie the craving loaner, were compelled to serve. He therefore cut off all use, ª as some write, or else ᵇ lessened the burthen of it; making it more moderate by his Law Σεισάχθεια· so called from Σείειν, *to shake off*, and Ἄχθος, *an heavy weight*. Forgiving himself first, as ᶜ *Laertius*, seven talents; or, as ᵈ *Plutarch*, five. But this seems to have been done for the avoiding of the asperſion

* Demosth. *p.* 70.

† *His Laws continued* 100. *years, says* Plutarch, *in strength. In* Solone, *p.* 66. *and afterwards by little and little decayed.*

‖ Ælian. *Var. Hist. l.* 2. *c.* 22.

‡ *If any spoke against them, he had corporal punishment.*

¶ *Sat.* 10. *vers.* 274.

** Κατὰ Ἀνδρ. *p.* 390.

†† *Pag.* 190.

‡‡ *In* Timæo.

† *In* Solone. *p.* 66. *l.* 31.

ª *Lib.* 22.

ᵇ *Bibliotheca.*

ᶜ *Initio vitæ* Solonis.

ᵈ *In* Solone, *p.* 62. *l.* 8.

ª Plut. *p.* 62.

ᵇ Androtio. *Loco laud.*

ᶜ *Pag.* 62. *fifteen, says* Polizetus Rhodius.

aſperſion caſt upon him as acceſſory to the injuries of ſome, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much money with hope of never making reſtitution. * *Caſaubon* is conceited, that this was not his firſt exploit, but long after he had ſate at the Stern of the Wealpublick. Yet it ſeems probable; There being no more compendious way to make a man popular, than to give liberty to the common people. Which he, to bring in an innovation of Laws, did willingly invent; and they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in teſtimony of their approbation, they kept a Feſtival named [f] Σεισάχθεια. Here likewiſe you may obſerve the ancient flattery of the *Athenians* towards their own Vices, putting gilded names on thoſe things which themſelves were aſhamed of, calling [g] πόρνας, ἑταίρας· φόρους, συνδάξεις· ξυλακὰς, φρουρὰς τῆς πολέως· δεσμωτήριον, οἴκημα, &c. as our Blades name drunkenneſs, good-fellowſhip; whores, ſhe-ſinners; and niggardiſe, thriftineſs; ſpringing from this root of *Solon's*, who called [h] χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν, σεισάχθειαν. To theſe Laws two ends were propoſed, mutual commerce, and direction of behaviour towards the State. [i] To curb wickedneſs, and injuſtice; and to puniſh offenders that they might be bettered. And although they were the Ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we fitly call them the *Athenian* Civil Law. Each City, as [k] *Juſtinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam ſi quis velit Solonis vel Draconis Leges appellare jus civile Athenienſium, non erraverit.* They were ingraven in Tables of wood, called [l] Ἄξονες, triangular, if we may believe the [m] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, who quotes *Ariſtotle* and *Apollodorus*, witneſſing that they were called Κύρβεις alſo, παρὰ τὸ κυροῦσθαι εἰς ὑψος ἀναβαλλομένους, from the elevation. [n] Some are of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the God's and their worſhip were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Laws belonging to men in the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* ſays that all Decrees are called *Cyrbes*, becauſe they were written in Stone, and ſo ſet up, [o] which from their ſtanding, were termed Στῆλαι. I know that decrees, merits, praiſe and diſpraiſe too, were written in Stone: Whence [p] λόγος στηλιτευτικὸς may be put for a Treatiſe tending

* *In* Laert. *p.* 14.

[f] Plut. *p.* 62. *l.* 43.

[g] Plutarch. *loco laudato.*

[h] Demoſth. *p.* 477.

[i] *Idem. p.* 484.

[k] *Inſtitut. l.* 1. *Tit.* 2. *Sed jus quidem civile, ex unaquaque civitate appellatur, veluti* Athenienſium.

[l] *Sch.* Apollo. Rho. Argo. 4.

[m] *In Avibus, p.* 604.

[n] *Vide* Plut. *p.* 66.

[o] Ἀπὸ στάσεως.

[p] *Vide* Nonnum *in* Naz. Στηλίτ. α'.

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ding to a man's disgrace. But this by the way. These Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, translated afterwards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the days of [q] *Plutarch*, some reliques of them were to be seen. The *Autographon* or Copy written with his own hand was not removed, but those that were transcribed by them. Because in matters of doubt and controversie they might have recourse unto them. * For the distinction of which, some think that ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος is used in *Demosthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum*. Others for the Law in the lower part of the Table; but to me it seems improbable, for then the number of the Table ought to be cited; and indeed, one Table sometimes could not contain a Law. For we reade in [r] *Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cut in the thirteenth Table. I am not averse from the gues of *Petitus*, who supposes the Orator to mean the Law which afterwards he quotes; nor ignorant of the Opinion of some, who think that it is to be understood of the under line. For the Laws being written βουστροφηδὸν, *converso sive retrogrado literarum ordine*, says † *Sylburgius*; which [t] *Pausanias* explains, ἀπὸ τῆς λαιᾶς ἐπὶ δεξιῶν, *from the right hand to the left*, [v] or more significantly, Ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τῶν ἔπων ἐπιστρέφει τὸν ἐπῶν τὸ δεύτερον, ὥσπερ ἐν Διαύλῳ δρόμῳ, *When the second Verse begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call Dianlus*, or if I shall speak neareſt to the word, as husbandmen turn their Oxen when they plough, as for example.

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ-
ΘΕΩΝΥΧ

See those that have written of divers ways of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned, ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος. After this manner were the Laws written, and doubtless there were some customs as strong as Laws. For although the *Lacedemonians* governed by tradition of custome, and the *Athenians* by written Statutes, as [x] *Josephus*; yet surely had their customs great force, insomuch as [y] *Aristophanes* uses νόμος for ἔθος.—Αἰχρὰ νόμῳ χρᾶ λέγειν. [a] *Scholiast.* Νόμον νῦν ἐπάντα τὰ γεγραμμένον φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔθος. So did the [b] *Greeks* divide their Laws into ἐγγράφους καὶ ἀγράφους, *written and unwritten*. The unwritten, *sine scripto jus venit, quod usus*

[q] *In* Solone. *p.* 66.
* Pollux. *l.* 8. *p.* 408.
[r] Solone. *p.* 63. *l.* 37.
† *In* Pausaniam. *p.* 426.
[t] *In Eliacis. p.* 174.
[v] *Eodem lib. p.* 165.
[x] *Contra* Apionem. *Vide* Justinian. *Inst. l.* 1. *tit.* 2.
[y] *In Avibus pag.* 576.
[a] *Pag.* 577.
[b] *Vide* Justinianum.

usus approbavit, use. The [c] Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus, Νόμος ἔστιν ἔγγραφος συνήθεια, συνήθεια δ' ἄγραφος νόμος, *A law is a written custome, and a custome an unwritten law.* Besides these there were decrees, which they termed ψηφίσματα, *psephismata*, a word used by [d] *Cicero*, nothing different, ψηφισμάτων ἐδοξεν διαφέρειν οἱ νόμοι. [*] *Demosthenes*, who means in vertue and power. For they differ much: [f] A Law maintains justice once found, common for ever. A *Psephisma* follows the necessity of the time, as it differs in events: it directs not warlike affairs, but is applied unto the occasion of arms, and as laws can be abrogated, so decrees changed. And here ought we to note, [g] that no decree is greater than a law. Of decrees there were two sorts; [h] ἡ βουλῆς ψηφίσματα, such as the Senate by it self established, which were but of twelve Months continuance; to the confirming of which, the people were not convocated, or their consent required, termed [i] προβουλεύματα, which *Demosthenes* proves to be ἐπέτεια. *Ulpian.* ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν. Like to the edicts of the Roman Prætors which lasted but a year. [k] *Cicero. Qui plurimum tribuunt edicto, Prætoris edictum legem annuam esse dicunt.* In other decrees the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the giving of the authority unto them, which endured in force a longer time, [l] τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γινόμενα, ἢ πλείονα μῆνες χρόνον. And therefore we may easily know a *probuleuma* from a *decree* of the peoples confirming, by this observation. Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ onely gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma.* Ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, in the beginning of a decree, shews it to be ψήφισμα παρὰ δήμου κύρος λαμβάνον. The Senate always sate in consultation about that which was to be enacted, whether any damage might accrew to the State by it or no; the Law commanding that no decree should go forth without deliberation, [m] προβούλου ψήφισμα μὴ εἰσιέναι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. Which done the *Prytanes* took certain Tables and wrote on them, *Such or such a day about such a time, there should be an assembly to consult of these and these affairs:* and this they called [n] προγραμμα. When then they were assembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, stood: if not, decayed. It was forbid-

[c] *In* Ajacem Locarium.

[d] *In Orat. pro* Flacco.

[*] *Cont.* Lept. *p.* 296.

[f] Aristides, *Tom.* 2. *p.* 30.

[g] Demosth. *p.* 416.

[h] Demosth. κατ' Αἰσχιν. *p.* 417.

[i] Ulp. *in* Dem. *p.* 418.

[k] *In* Verr. 1.

[l] Ulpian. *loco laudato.*

[m] Ulp. *in Arg. Orat.* And. *p.* 181. *Vide* Dem. *p.* 182. *n.* 10. *v.* 1. Plut. Solone. *p.* 63. *l.* 31.

[n] *Sch. in* Naz. Στηλ. α'. *p.* 55. *vid.* Ulp. *in* Dem. *p.* 240.

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den that any ſhould raze out a decree of any Table. And he was brought in queſtion of life, who ſhould preſume in making a decree to pretend a fallacy. Now becauſe future time might haply perceive ſome inconveniences to ariſe by overſight in the Law-giver; and that as abuſes ſhould happen, which in his days were not diſcerned; ſo there would be a neceſſity of making new ſtatutes: It was ordained therefore that every year there ſhould be ἐπιχειροτονία νόμων, which [o] *Ulpian* expounds διάσκεψις ὅ, τι δεῖ ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν νόμων, *a conſideration of what ought to be done concerning the laws.* [p] The manner was thus. Every eleventh day of *July* in the Aſſembly, after the Crier had made his Prayers, as the faſhion was, and ſhall anon be ſpoken of, the Laws were read over in order. Firſt thoſe which concerned their Senate; next the Wealpublick, and thirdly the nine *Archons*; and afterwards the other Magiſtrates. Then was it demanded if there were Laws enough for the Senate, and ſo for the Commonweal, *&c.* If any of the Laws in force were to be abrogated, it was adjourned untill the laſt of the three days of the three Convocations; on which the *Prytanes*, appointed for the reviſing and reciting of the Laws, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* chief of the Aſſembly, were to [q] acquaint them with it. Five men at the firſt meeting were choſen out of all the *Athenians*, who ſhould patronize the Law to be aboliſhed; and according to the Judgment of the *Nomothetæ*, choſen out of the Council of five hundred, was the buſineſs carried; that the Laws ſhould be of none effect, or full ſtrength. Whoſoever would bring in a new Law, was to write in a Table, [r] εἰς λεύκωμα, *Demoſth.* the form thereof, and ſet it up at the Statues of the *Heroes* before ſpoken of, † πρὸ τῶν τῶν ἐπωνύμων, which ſtanding in a place conſpicuous, that ſome certain days before the Seſſions, any Citizen might reade what was to be handled; and if any ſo pleaſed, he might at the propoſal of the Law, declare his mind either for or againſt it, as at the preferring of *a Bill in our high Court of Parliament*; where it is not denied any *Burgeſs*, or *Knight* of a Shire, to ſpeak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either for any whole Bill, or

[o] Demoſth. p. 445.

[p] *Vid.* Dem. *loco cit.*

[q] Χρηματίζειν Demoſth. Ulp. *expounds* ἀπαγγέλλειν *to report.*

[r] *Cont.* Timocr. p. 446.

† Demoſt. p. 297.

some part thereof, or in opposition to it, or some one clause. Provided likewise that he who attempted to enact a new Statute, should take care for the disanulling of the old that might contradict it; otherwise he came within the compass of παρανομίας γραφῆς, a Writ of *Transgression of the Laws*: which was of two sorts. First, when time is not observed in writing them, [t] παρὰ τὸ ὡρισμένον χρόνον. Next when one is made that's adverse to a former. And if it so hapned, that any perswaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the Wealpublick, he might be questioned within a [v] years space; [x] but if the time was expired, he could not. [y] Nay they slew *Eudemus*, a *Cydiathenian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; scarce different in that one example from the *Locri*; among whom he that would propose a Law should do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his requests pleased not, he streightway poured out his soul under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators which are called [z] δημαγωγοὶ, because they lead the people with their Rhetorick and flattery, wrote Laws and decrees, as we learn out of † *Demosthenes*, and therefore are they deciphered by ‖ *Athenæus*, οἱ λέγοντες καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γεγραφότες.

t Ulp. *in* Dem. *p.* 297.
v Dem. *Orat. Arg. con.* Lep.
x Dem. *p.* 419.
y *Id. p.* 468.
z Gellius. *l.* 3. *c.* 13. If. Callistratus Athenis *Orator fuit, quos illi* δημαγωγοὺς appellant. Livi. *Dec.* 4. *of* Athens, *ubi Oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur.* Ulpian. δημαγωγὸς ὁ δήμου ἄρχων.
† *Pag.* 468. n. 225.
‖ *Dipnos. l.* 12.

CAP. II.

De Comitiis. Κυρία & σύγκλητος Ἐκκλησία, *&c.*

THE Assemblies were called by the *Prytanes* four times in five and thirty days. [a] In the first they confirmed the Magistrates in their Offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out: They heard publick causes, looked into confiscate goods, and possessions left by inheritance. In the second, any one with leave might freely speak of private and publick affairs. In the third, they gave audience to Ambassadours, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytanes*. In the fourth, they treated of holy things, such as belonged to their Gods and worship.

a Pollux. *l.* 8. *c.* 9. *Sect.* 7. *pag.* 398.

worſhip of them. The firſt meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytanea*; the ſecond the twentieth; the third the thirtieth; the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference between the [b] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, and [c] *Ulpian*, in the days on which they came together; one making the firſt day of the Month, to be the day on which the firſt Aſſembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, which ſeems trueſt. And whereas they both write that every Month there were three lawfull Aſſemblies, to wit, on the firſt, tenth, or thirtieth; or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth; we are not ſo to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanea*, it being the *Prytanes* charge to congregate the people. They ſeem to have been called Κυρίαι Ἐκκλησίαι becauſe in them they did κυροῦν ψηφίσματα, *eſtabliſh decrees*, as the [d] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*. Other Aſſemblies there were which are termed * σύγκλητοι, when war, or any ſudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over and above thoſe four times in a *Prytanea*. They are ſtyled σύγκλητοι, becauſe the people of their own accord met on the other days; but when they would have a Convocation, ſome went about the City and called them. There is likewiſe [f] κατάκλησία, when they were ſummoned out of the fields to go to the Aſſembly. It ſeems to me that the Crier in the ſtreets on their lawfull Aſſemblies gave ſome token when they ſhould haſten; and ſo much [g] *Ariſtophanes* witneſſes, bringing in the women ſpeaking that it is high time to be ſtirring, becauſe the Crier δεύτερον κεκράγηκεν, *had cried the ſecond time*. And indeed need was there of ſome warning, and compulſion too, for ſo ſlow were they in coming to Aſſemblies, that the *Logiſtæ* were fain to thong them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Ariſtophanes* on theſe words, [h] Τὰς δ' ἱμάντας ἐκ λαφύρων. Sometimes they took a rope, and dying it with red earth, they ſent two Slaves into the Market-place, who ſhould one on the one ſide of the way, and the other of the oppoſite, purſue the people, and to whoſe chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certain piece of money. Hence in the [i] Comedian, — Κἄνω κἄτω τὸ χεῖριον φεύγουσι τὸ μεμιλτωμένον;

[b] *In Achar.* pag. 371.
[c] *In Dem.* p. 445.
[d] *In Acharn.*
* Ulp. & Sch. Ariſt. *loc. laud.*
[f] Pol. p. 405.
[g] *In Concionantib.* p. 725.
[h] *In Achar.* p. 406.
[i] Ariſtophan. *Achar.* p. 377.

Up

Up and down they ſhun the cord ſtained with Virmilion. And again —ἡ μὰλ᾽ ὦ Ζεῦ φίλε Γέλων παρῆκεν ἣν σεσιβρασμένον κύκλῳ. Jupiter, *the red earth which flew about made laughter.* [k] Sometimes would they take hurdles, and barracado all the ſtreets except thoſe that led to the *Eccleſia:* Sometimes take away all their ſaleable wares which they brought into the Market, leſt people intent on their traffick ſhould abſent themſelves from the Aſſemblies. When they had met, oft-times the company would be diſmiſſed at ſome prodigious ſign, as thunder, lightning, tempeſt, and the like, which they called [l] Διοσημεῖα· [m] and earthquakes, or other occaſions, deferring the Aſſemblies meeting, untill the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to ſit, one man Sacrificed; which rites were called [n] Εἰσιτήρια, becauſe they were done at the *entry of the Council,* [o] *Vlpian.* Προηγεῖται γὰρ εἰσιόντος τοῦ βουλῆς ὁ τοὺς δημοσίους ποιούμενος. I will not juſtly ſay that it was the purification made with a young Pig, before the Bench was ſate; and yet I may preſume to aver it; the Grammarian that interprets [p] *Ariſtophanes* witneſſing that immediately preceding the Seſſions this cuſtome was obſerved by one, whom they named Θεσιάρχον, from θέσις, τὴ καθαρσία, which ſignifies cleanſing, becauſe by that he purged the Aſſembly, Theatre, and congreſs of the people. After they were ſate, [q] the Crier did pray for the good of the people, [r] and curſed thoſe who ſhould offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this, he ſpeaks with a loud voice, † Τὶς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; *Who will make a ſpeech?* whereupon one of the [t] Elders aroſe who gave his verdict: It being not permitted to any to utter his opinion, before the reverend hoary head had ſpent his judgment. Whence by [v] *Demoſthenes* they are ſtyled οἱ διαθέντες, thoſe that were wont to orate. After they had finiſhed their ſaying, others had leave to declare themſelves. Neither muſt we omit the faſhion they had to exclude all private men from their Aſſemblies, ſometimes when the Senate alone ſate, or the *Areopagitical* Council; ſometimes to debar all ſervants, ſtrangers, and men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which at other times they admitted

[k] *Schol.* Ariſt. *loco laudato.*

[l] *Vide* Ariſt. *p.* 379.
[m] Plut. *p.* 386. *l.* 7. *&* 384. *l.* 34.
[n] Demoſth. Φιλιππ. 241.
[o] *Vide &* Ulpian. *p.* 351.

[p] *In Concion. p.* 728. A.

[q] Demoſth. Φιλιππ. 213.
[r] *Id. p.* 418.

† Alcidamas Ariſtoph. *p.* 372. Diod. Sic. *l.* 15.
[t] Demoſth. *p.* 29. Æſchines *contra* Cteſ. *initio.*
[v] *Philip.* 1.

mitted, and then was it called [a] Ἀπαντῶντων βῆμα ἢ τὸ θέατρον, *An open Theatre to all comers.* The place of meeting was called Πνὺξ, *Pnyx*, ἀπὸ τῆς πυκνώσεως ἀνδρῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, from the frequent concourse of people there. It stood on a Rock, and therefore by *Aristophanes* is called Πέτρα. 345. Sch. ὄρος ἐν ᾧ ἦν. There was a stipend for them that came to the Assemblies, as you may see in *Demosth. Contra Timoc.* And πρὸς βιωτὸν τὴν ὀνόμασθ. Because they might be at leisure without damage. *Arist. Pol.* 1. *c.* 13. They assembled also in *Piraeus*, *Vlp. in Dem.*

[a] Plut. *p.* 552. *L.* 11. 17.

CAP. III.

De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primùm de Senatu Πενταχοσίων.

SECT. I.

WHen the mutiny between the Faction of *Megacles* and *Cylo* disturbed the *Attick* Commonwealth, *Solon* perswaded the people that those, whom for their audacity in drawing away the suppliants from the Altars, they named ἐναγεῖς, should undergo judgment; there were chosen [a] three hundred men ἀριστίνδην, according to their *worth* to sit upon the case. But these were not a perpetual Judicatory. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the usury money, then was the grand Council ordained; out of every Tribe, (which were then but four) were an hundred chosen, who by their advice should direct the people in those things which were to be handled, lest any thing should be inducted, or proposed to the Assembly without due consideration. Who from their office in a *Democracy* [b] *Aristotle* says, are more properly called πρόβουλοι, but where the Rout rules, Βουλή. But when *Clisthenes*, (who by *Plutarch* is termed ὁ καταστασιωτὴς τῆς πολιτείας) had augmented the number of the Tribes from four to ten, eighty six years after *Solon*'s Laws were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled ten times, make up the sum. This Council by *Aristotle* is described, Ἡ μαλίστα κυρία πάντων, *The Mistress of all*

[a] Plut. Solone. *p.* 60. *l.* 31.

[b] *Polit. l.* 6. *c.* 8.

all the reſt; and I am not of opinion that ὁ ἄνω Βουλὴ in [c] *Plutarch* is to be underſtood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were above the Senate, but as inſtituted firſt by *Solon*, and ſo related by the Authour. And yet I know [d] one writes, *Tam dignitate, fama, quàm officio, ſecundum poſt Areopagitas locum obtinuere.* To this Council none were choſen under thirty years of age; which time is ſtyled Βουλικὴ ἡλικία by [*] *Libanius*. And doubtleſs [f] *Plutarch* juſtifies it, ſpeaking that *Demoſthenes* wrote his Oration againſt *Androtion*, *Timocrates*, *Ariſtocrates*, ὅπως τῇ πολιτείᾳ προστεθήσεται, when he had not attained to the managing of ſtate buſineſs, becauſe he wanted two or three of thirty years. Agreeing to this is [g] *Junius*, who ſays that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very wiſe, to Magiſtracy or Council. Nay the [h] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* tells us, that green heads were not permitted to ſpeak publickly. The Law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as ſome ſay (which is trueſt) thirty, on theſe words,

Κἀγὼ παρῆν ὢν ἔτ' ἰὼ, κοὐκ ἐξῆν πω μοι τηκεῖν.

Which to be otherwiſe underſtood by ſome, is not hidden from me. They were called likewiſe Ἡλιασταὶ, as well as Πενταχόσιοι, and their Tribunal Ἡλιαία, from the word [i] ἁλίζω, which ſignifies to throng together, becauſe the people were frequent there. But the more probable reaſon is, [k] ὅτι τὸ ὕπαιθρον εἶδος ἡ τόπος ᾧ τὴν ἥλιον ἐκεῖ ἔνδον προσβάλλειν, *becauſe the place was open and expoſed to the Sun.* And in reſpect of this [l] *Ariſtophanes* makes that cold conceit branded by *Didymus*, Εἶλη καὶ ἄρθρον ἡλιάσεις πρὸς Ἥλιον, *In the morning thou ſhalt* ἡλιάζειν *in the Sun-ſhine.* At their admiſſion they had this Oath given them. [m] Ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, &c. *I will give Sentence according to the Laws and Decrees of the People of* Athens, *and Council of five hundred. I will not conſent to be a Tyrant, or bring in an Oligarchy: Neither ſhall my approbation be to any that ſhall diſſolve the Democracy of* Athens *by ſpeech or Decree. I will not cut off private uſe, or ſuffer any diviſion of the Athenian Lands or Houſes. I will not bring back exil'd Men, or thoſe that are condemned. I will not thruſt out of the City any innocent, againſt the Laws and Statutes of the Athenians, and Se-*

[c] *In* Solon. *p.* 63.

[d] Poſſardus *falſe, for* Pauſanias *calls it* μεγίστην. *in Att. p.* 27. *l.* 15.

[*] *In Arg. orat. cont.* Androt.

[f] *Vita decem Rhet. p.* 378.

[g] Stobæus *Serm.* 112.

[h] *In Nub. p.* 157.

[i] Ulp. *in* Dem. *p.* 445.

[k] Ulp. *loco laudato, vide &* Ariſtoph. *Sch. pag.* 436.

[l] *Pag.* 486.

[m] Dem. *Orat. cont.* Tim.

nate

nate of five hundred; neither by my ſelf, or ſuffer any other. I will not create a Magiſtrate, who hath not given an account of his former Office, whether of the nine Archons, or Agents for the holy things, or they, who at the ſame day are choſen with the nine Archons by lot, Ambaſſadours and Aſſiſtents. Neither ſhall the ſame Man bear the ſame Office twice, or two in one Year. I will not take Gifts for Judgment, neither my ſelf or others for me, or others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger than thirty. I will hear both Parties, the Accuſer and Defendant alike. I will paſs Judgment aright on the thing proſecuted. I ſwear by Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. * There is alſo another Oath which they took; ſome Clauſes whereof we have left in Record; *To ratifie the Laws of* Solon. Plutarch *in* Solone, *pag.* 62; *To give Counſel for the beſt of the People. To adviſe according to the Laws. I will not bind any Athenian who ſhall give three ſureties of the ſame Revenues, unleſs for Treaſon, or he conſpire the ſubverſion of State popular, or buy Cuſtome, or be engaged, or gather publick Money and not pay it. I will ſit in that order which lot ſhall direct me to. I will not permit any, unleſs baniſhed, to be accuſed or impriſoned for what is paſt.* This laſt was made after the driving out of the thirty Tyrants, when [n] *Thraſybulus* gave them to Oath μὴ μνησικακήσειν, *not to remember ancient wrongs*, which they call ἀμνηστίαν. The Authority of this Council was great, for it handled cauſes of War, Tributes, making of Laws, civil buſineſſes and events, affairs of Confederates, collections of Money, performance of ſacred Rites, accounts of Offices diſcharged, appointing Keepers for Priſoners and ὀρφανοφύλακια of Orphans, as *Xenophon*. [o] Reſembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whoſe conſent all Laws are abrogated, new made; right and poſſeſſions of private men changed, forms of Religion eſtabliſhed, Subſidies, Tails, Taxes, and Impoſitions appointed; Weights and Meaſures altered, *&c.* As not unlike alſo the *Venetian Gran Conſiglio*, or Senate, of which the *Contarene*. [p] *Tutta la cura del Governo della Republica appertiene al Senato*, &c. *The whole manner of the Commonwealth's Government belongeth to the Senate.* That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their Authority and

* *If I tranſgreſs any of theſe, let me and my houſe periſh; but if I faithfully keep them according to my Oath, let us be happy and proſperous.* Dem. p. 470.

[n] *Vid.* Xeno. *in* Ἑλλ. Cic. *init. Phil.* 1. Velleium Paterculum. *l.* 2. *p.* 84.

[o] Ariſt. *Sch. in* πλ. Æſch. *cont.* Cteſiph. Athen. *p.* 407. *See Sir* Tho. Smith *in the Commonwealth of* England.

[p] *As* Eranchirio Anditimi *hath tranſlated it. lib.* 3. *fol.* 34. B.

Rule is Peace confirmed and War denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Commonwealth at their appointment collected and gathered in, and likewise laid out again and defrayed, *&c.* In a word, I may say of the Five hundred, as [q] *Budæus* of the Parliament of *France: Amplissimam eam curiam, causarúmque omne genus disceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse; That that Court was most ample; and justly, and equally decided all sort of Controversies whatsoever.* [r] To their charge was committed the making of new Ships, for which at the years end they were to be rewarded by the People. To this alludes † *Aristophanes*, Ποδαπὸ τὸ γίγνεσθ'; ΒΕΤ. Ὅθεν αἱ πεύσεις ἥκουσι. ΕΠ. Μῶν Ἠλιαστάι; —— [t] Without their consent could the people doe nought, as indeed they made not any thing *Sanctum* against the peoples wills. Hence in [v] *Demosthenes*, ἐκ βουλῆς πυήσασθε τὰ δήμῳ κυρίαν. In testimony of their preheminence are they termed [x] Κύριοι ἄνδρες· and γεγράφασι Κύριοι. The Lords of Sentence. In time of War they would send Commissions to their Captains, as they thought requisite. [z] Such as in the Battel between the *Lacedemonians* and their Countrymen in *Tanagra*, where fearing lest *Cimon*, banished by *Ostracism*, should betray them to the *Laconians*, they sent to the Commanders not to entertain him in the Army. This honour was not during term of life, but every year changed. *Apostolius*, ἡ μὲ τῶν πεντακοσίων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν κληροῦσθαι βουλήν. Which *Anonymus in Arg. Orat. contrà Androt.* expresses by κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν διδόμενοι. The manner of chusing them is this. † The chief of every Tribe on an appointed day before the beginning of the Month *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of all their Tribe that was capable of this dignity, and cast them written into a Vessel, and into another they put an hundred white Beans, and all the rest black; then drawing out a Name, and then a Bean, to whose chance the white Bean fell to be extracted with his Name, was designed Senatour. This they did when they had but four Tribes, and so four hundred Senatours. But when they had ten Tribes, there could be but fifty white Beans, to the making up of the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the election

[q] *In Pandect. Prio. p.* 298.

[r] Dem. *p.* 385.

† *Avib. p.* 546.

[t] *Sch.* Arist. *p.* 93.

[v] *Pag.* 234.

[x] Demosth. ἐν Ἀλλό.

[y] *Idem.* κατὰ Μειδίου.

[z] Plut. *in* Cim. *p.* 356. *l.* 50.

† Verbo Emmenus *in Descript. Reip. Athen.*

tion obſerved by the * *Venetians* upon the fourth day of *December*, when the names of all the young men that have not by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor paſſed twenty five years old, are put into a pot, and carried unto the Prince, and there the ſame ſet before the Councellours, with whom there is another pot, wherein are round balls equal with the number of the names written in the firſt, every one having his marks: the fifth part of theſe balls is guilded with gold, the reſt with ſilver. The Prince taketh out of the firſt pot the ball, which if it be of the golden ſort, the young man whoſe name is drawn is preſently admitted to publick authority; they to whom the ſilver chance, loſe it for that time, expecting it the enſuing year; unleſs in the mean ſpace they accompliſh twenty five, at which age all the young Noblemen partake of the Cities liberties. So every year the fifth part of the youngſters is choſen to give voice with the other Citizens. The uſe in chuſing I deem the ſame, and ſhall untill I find authentick Writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Cliſthenes* according to their Tribes, ſo by his ſucceſſours. For when they added two, the number was encreaſed an hundred, by reaſon of the Tribes *Antigonis* and *Demetrias*; after named *Attalis* and *Ptolemais*, in honour to the Kings of that name which were Benefactours to the State, [a] ὅθεν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πεντακοσίων ἦσαν, ἑξακοσίων ἐποίησαν. [b] Out of theſe were their Judges choſen; but ſuch as were above threeſcore years old. For although Juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged under that age, εἰσήρχοντο μὲν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν οὐκ ἐδίκαζον δέ. To theſe was any buſineſs referred, of which the Senate and people were in ſuſpence what to determine, [c] *Ariſtoph.* Εἶτ' ἡ βουλὴ χ' ὁ δῆμος ὅταν κρῖναι μέγα πρᾶγμ' ἀπορήσῃ, Ἐφίσεται τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τῇσι δικαστῇς παραδοῦναι, *When the Council and People are in doubt how to judge a great matter, they decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges.* And no marvel. For the office of a Judge is κύριον κρίνειν, prerogative in ſentence, ſays [d] *Ariſtotle*; that is, to ſtate thoſe Queſtions which the Law hath not decided. The order of their giving ſentence before the third year of the ninety ſecond

* Contaren. *l.* 1. *fol.* 11. b.

[a] Stephanus περὶ Πολ.
[b] Ariſt. *Sch.* *p.* 37.

[c] *In Veſpis. p.* 471.

[d] *Pol. l.* 3. *c.* 13. περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος οὐδαμῶς διορίζει.

second Olympiad I know not. Afterwards they sate by turn in their own Tribes, every one as his lot fell. For there being formerly ten Tribes in *Athens*, they chose out of each five men, and to which one of them the chance happened, he sate Judge. I cannot say that the manner of Election was like that of the * *Syracusans* concerning the Priest of *Jupiter*, who taking the names of so many as were nominated, and casting them into a pot, created him, whose name should be first drawn, of that sacred Function. But of our own must I speak. [f] When then they were appointed, they met, every of them bringing with him a Table and a Wand, on which was written a Letter that did betoken some Judicatory. (For there being ten Tribunals, ever one of them was noted with a red Letter, Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, *&c.* to Κ, over the door) Time calling them to sit, they drew lots, and he to whom Α was taken out, sate in the Court noted with Α, and Β with Β, and so to Κ. This done, they shewed their lot to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand and Table. This they did, lest any should rashly attempt to sit, and pervert Justice. I know not whether I may better call that Rod of Authority a wand or staff: because that [g] Βακλήεια ἢ ῥάβδια ἢ πεισόνιον ἢ πεισόλοιον, was a Proverb used in derision of the Judges. [h] This staff at the days end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages. But the [i] Scholiast teaches us otherways, saying that the *Demagogi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon*'s words the Oratour; Ὦ γέροντες Ἡλιασαὶ, Φράτορες Τριζόλα, οὓς ἐγὼ βόσκω, ——*Judges which I feed.* Their pay was not always the same, οὐχ ἴσαπ, [k] says the Interpreter of *Aristophanes*. First, they had *obolum*, which *Callistratus*, surnamed *Parnytes*, was Authour of. Hence the Proverb, [l] Ὀβολὸν εὖγε Παρνύτης. Afterwards it was augmented by [m] *Callicrates*, and from him grew the word ὑπὲρ τὰ Καλλικράτης, it may be for a pretty sum of money. Nay it changed, for now I reade of Ὀβολὸς Ἡλιαστικὸς one, and anon πεισόλοιον three, a * *Drachme* to two. And therefore we may conclude that it was sometime more, sometimes less. Thus having spoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their cases of Law, in which I shall add. When

* Cic. *in* Verrem. *Act.* 3.

[f] Aristoph. πλ. p. 30.

[g] Suidas *Proverb.*

[h] *Sch.* Arist. πλ. 30.

[i] *In Equites.* p. 301.

[k] *In Nubes.* p. 174.

[l] *Appendix Vaticana.*

[m] Zenobius.

[n] *Sch.* Arist. p. 487.

When any had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their cuſtome to make their caſes known to a Magiſtrate, whoſe office it was to report to the Judicatory. And this they did by a Table in which it was written, ° Καταγρᾶ τῶδε ἀγῶ ἀσεβείας τοῦτον διὰ τῶδε δεῖνος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. *I accuſe H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceeding who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magiſtrate before the accuſation; to which ᵖ *Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viros veſtrâque ibi nomina Faxo erunt*— When this note was given up, the Magiſtrate asked the Plaintiff, whether he had witneſſes and would proſecute the matter; who anſwering that he intended it, had thereupon authority to ſummon the Defendant to his appearance; and this he did either by himſelf or other, called therefore κλητῆρες, for ᑫ κλῆσις ἡ ἐν ᾗ δίκης εἰσαγωγὴ, a bringing into ſuit, καλεῖσθαι δὲ εἰς δικαστήρια. The word ſignifies a witneſs alſo. For when they warned any to the Tribunal, they bad any that ſtood by to teſtifie that they had admoniſhed them, ʳ Κλητῆρες δὲ οἱ καλοῦντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον πάντας, σημαίνει δὲ ἡ λέξις καὶ μάρτυρα. You may uſe κλητῆρες for an Apparatour, Serjeant, Bailiff, or the like. Sometimes they would run ſtreight to the Court, as it were headlong, in † *Demoſthenes* his phraſe; ſometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may ſee out of ᵗ *Ariſtophanes.* Κἄδ' ἕλκειν αὐτόν— But if the party could put in two ἀξιόχρεως, ſufficient Bail, he was diſmiſſed. Hence in the ᵛ Comedian. Ἀλλ' ἐγγυητάς σοι καλέσασθαι δύο Ἀξιόχρεως, *I will procure thee a couple of able Sureties.* Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a Week or more, after the *vocationem in jus*; at which time if the Defendant were not perſonally at the Judgment-ſeat, he came within compaſs of Ἐρήμης, *a Writ of Eremodicium*, refuſal to come in and anſwer. Which was avoided by ſuing for a μὴ ἕσα in ten days after. For when the party to defend was abſent, he was condemned *indictâ cauſâ*, ſo ᵃ *Budæus* expounds ἐξ ἐρήμης καταδικασθῆναι; by this therefore the caſe was renewed, and ſtood as at the firſt; the ſentence that before paſt, being made of no force; and for this

° Ulp. *in* Dem. p. 343.

ᵖ *Aſinaria Act.* 1. p. 54.

ᑫ *Sch.* Ariſt. 190.

ʳ *Sch.* Ariſt. p. 442.

† Ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον βαδίζειν. p. 596. n. 17.

ᵗ *In Veſpis.* p. 487.

ᵛ Ariſt. *Concio.* p. 755.

ᵃ *In prioris & poſt. No. ad Pand.*

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this was it termed μὴ ἔσα, [b] ὅτι πρότερον δοκοῦσα εἶναι καιρῷ τινι, ὕστερον εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι φαίνεται, *because in the beginning it seemed to carry some power, but at last was nothing.* The busines then made a new, the party that was cast by an ἐφήμῳ, after that he had obtained a μὴ ἔσα, was [c] within two Months to set the Law on foot, which they term ἀνθιλαχεῖν δίκιν, or else the sentence given before was ratified. Whosoever should offer to call any man to the Court, unless upon good grounds, was liable to ψεδοκλήσεως δίκη, a Writ of Molestation for a false cause. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libel; which held the contents of his action, and the sum of the Defendant's answer. This the Greeks call [d] Ἀντιγραφὴν, *Antigraphen.* Though I know also, that all cases in Law were termed * πράγματα, κἀντιγεγραμμένα. They took this course because the Defendant might know what to answer. And because it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuse out of envy, which is συκοφαντία, they made a [f] Law, that whosoever accused, and had not the fifth part of the voices, should be fined a thousand Drachms. And he that could not prove his objection was also punished in the purse a certain sum; [g] which if he paid not at the constituted time, was fourfold; and if his ability reached not so far, he suffered imprisonment. At the presenting of the *Antigraphe*, testimonies were also delivered (forms of which you shall often meet with in [h] *Demosthenes*) and a copy of an Oath which the Suiter gave, in these words, [i] Τἀληθῆ καλήσειν, that he would justly accuse. Τἀληθῆ ἀπολογήσασθαι, that he would according to Truth make his Apology: and this they name [k] ἀντωμοσίαν. These writings were cast into a certain coffer, forth coming as occasion should require: All which [l] *Aristophanes* in one verse comprehends. Ἀντωμοσίας τε προσκλήσεις τε μαρτύρια συνεκύλλον, *They joyned or put together oaths, citations and testimonies.* I so interpret it against the Scholiast's mind, who will have προσκλήσεις to be Exhortations given to the Plaintiff and Defendant to come to composition. But I know that [m] προσκαλεῖσθαι, is καλήσειν, εἰς δικαστήριον ἕλκειν, to accuse, *in jus rapere*, [n] and προσκαλήσασθαι, διὰ μαρτύρων ἀποχθήσεσθαι. The

[b] Ulp. *in* Dem. p. 343.

[c] Pollux. *l.* 8. p. 390.

[d] *You have a form of this in* Demosth. p. 628.

* Arist. *Nub.* p. 154. v. *Sch.*

[f] Demosth. p. 716. n. 7.

[g] Arist. *Schol.* p. 170.

[h] *Unum contra* Stephan. ψδ. α'. p. 622. *aliud* p. 624. 629.

[i] *Schol.* Arist. *Vesp.* 505.

[k] *In Vesp.* p. 467. 505.

[l] *In Vesp.* p. 504.

[m] *Schol.* Arist. p. 239.

[n] *Idem.* p. 195.

The cheſt or coffer was called ἐχῖνος, and of this are the words of the Greek Oratours to be underſtood, [o] εἰς ἐχῖνον βάλλειν. [p] *Theophraſtus* of a mad man that would *entangle* himſelf in any thing, ἔχων ἐχῖνον ἐν τῷ προσκολπίῳ, καὶ ὁμαδὰς γραμματιδίων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, *Having an Echinus in his lap, and a bundle of Libels in his hands.* *Pollux* makes a different expoſition of this Oath from that which other Grammarians do, confounding, as is moſt probable, the προωμοσία and ἀντωμοσία, with ὄμωμοσία. For προωμοσία is that firſt Oath which the Plaintiff gave to proſecute the party proſecuted to anſwer; which on the Defendant's ſide was called ἀντωμοσία, and generally on both. Ὄμωμοσία was a Sacrament taken by both, the Impleader that he did [q] πεπεῖσθαι δικάσειν, follow the Delinquent in Law; the Defendant οὐκ ἂν ἔπεισεν ὑποφαίνειν, to ſtand ſtifly to it that he did not treſpaſs. And yet [r] *Ulpian* makes both theſe one. After this were they that ſued one another admitted to the Judicatory, it being firſt demanded of the ſuiter, † whether he would *perſequi*, follow the ſuit, and had ſufficient witneſs for evidence; in cauſes capital it was asked if there were need of any who could not then be preſent. This Interrogation was termed [t] Ἀνάκρισις. If then any thing was deficient, the Judgment was prorogued by an [v] ἀπωμοσία or oath, which the Plaintiff took, that for the preſent he could not perform it, but certainly would. [x] Perhaps for that time pretending ſickneſs, death of friends, or ſome urgent neceſſity, on which their fortunes might depend. When then all things were ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunal, the Judges firſt ſwearing [y] that they would give ſentence according to the Laws, and in thoſe things concerning which there were no Laws, according to conſcience and equity, (which the Greeks call γνώμῃ δικαιότητι,) [z] and of thoſe things onely concerning which they did debate. This Oath ſeems to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little ſtones (of theſe by and by) with which they gave ſentence. [a] *Plutarch*, ψῆφον ἀπὸ βωμοῦ φέρονται. The Oath is called ὀμωμοσία. Then went the Judges to their ſeats, [b] neatly ſpread with mats, in Greek ψιάδες and ψιαδοὶ,

[o] Demoſth. 622. *n.* 33. 629. *n.* 80. 640. *n.* 22. 655. *n.* 65. 665. *n.* 66.

[p] *Charact. περὶ ἀπροσ. p.* 21.

[q] *Schol.* Ariſt. *Veſp.* 505.

[r] *In* Demoſth. *p.* 287.

† *Vide* Ulpian. *in* Dem. *p.* 347, 348.

[t] Bud. *in Annot. Rel. ad Pan. p.* 341.

[v] Ulpian. *in* Dem. *p.* 226. *the Schol. of* Ariſtoph. *makes it the ſame with* ἐπωμοσία. *πλ. p.* 75.

[x] Ulpian. *in* Demoſth. 341.

[y] Pollux. *l.* 8. *p.* 406.

[z] Demoſth. *p.* 628.

[a] *Pag.* 122.

[b] Ariſtoph. *Sch. p.* 239.

ψίαδοι, and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to go without the bars, in this form, [c] μὴ ἀναβαίνειν ἔξω, they ſate down; for we muſt know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the Romans, with Lattice I ſuppoſe, by them called [d] Κάγκελλοποιοὶ, *Cancellatæ*, by the Greeks κιγκλίδες, though * κιγκλὶς more properly ſignifies the door of the δικαστηρίου, before which was [f] a rope of fifty feet in length drawn, and publick ſervants ſet, that none might enter, but who had buſineſs. The partition I think was but weak, and therefore by [g] *Demoſthenes* called ἀδαὴς κιγκλίς. Within which none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore when [h] *Demoſthenes* did long to hear *Calliſtratus* plead concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Pædagogue* that he would bring him where he might have the happineſs to be an Auditour. The *Pædagogue* therefore acquainted with the publick Officers that opened the doors, τοῦ ἀνοίγοντας τὰ δικαστήρια δημοσίᾳ, procured him a place where he might hear and not be ſeen, ἐν ᾗ καθήμενος ἀθέατος ἀκούσεται. When the Judges had gone within the Bars, leſt any ſhould be wanting, the *Præco* cried, [i] Εἴ τις δύεται Ἡλιαστὴς, εἰσίτω, *If any Judge be without the door of the place of Judgment, let him enter.* [k] Becauſe if any came after the Caſe began to be pleaded, he could not have admiſſion. Being then ſeated, the Crier read the Indictment, ἔγκλημα (a copy of ſome part of which you have in [l] *Demoſthenes*, ΈΒΛΑΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ ΈΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΎΣΑΣ ΈΜΟΙ, &c.) in which, according to the cuſtome of [m] the old *Ægyptians*, were given up to the Court in writing all the reaſons of accuſation, the wrong received, and the manner of it, with an eſtimation of the damage; The ſeveral heads of which the Judges wrote down, leſt the Impleader and Defendant ſhould ſwerve from what they had in hand. Then ſtood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunal, and ſpake an accuſatory Oration, made for the moſt part by ſome of the *Attick* Oratours: which uſe brought in by [n] *Antiphon* the *Rhamnuſian*, [o] *Clemens* of *Alexandria* calls δικανικὸς λόγους εἰς ἔκδοσιν γεγραμμένους. [p] *Cicero*, *Scribere aliis cauſas, quibus in judiciis uterentur*, ſuch as *Lyſias* is reported to have done

[c] Demoſth.

[d] Pollux. *l.* 8. *p.* 407.
* Pollux *loco citato.*
[f] *This is* ἀφειρεσίνιτσμα. Pollux.
[g] *Pag.* 485.

[h] Plutarch. *in Vita.*

[i] Ariſtoph. *p.* 494.
[k] Ariſtoph. *Schol. Ibid.*

[l] Πρὸς Παντάινετον. *p.* 567.

[m] Boemus De Coſthumi delle Genti *lib.* 1. *cap.* 5.

[n] Ariſt. *Rhet. l.* 1. *c.* 33.
[o] *Strom.* 1. *p.* 226.
[p] *In* Bruto.

done for *Socrates:* Which leſt it ſhould exceed in length, was limited to a certain time, by a veſſel; in the bottom of which was a ſmall hole for water to run, as ſand doth in our hour-glaſſes, thence called κλεψύδραι, into which was poured an equal meaſure of water; and leſt there ſhould be deceit, there was an Officer made for that purpoſe named [q] Ἐφύδωρος, ὁ παραφυλάττων τὴν ἰσονομίαν τῆς κλεψύδρας, filling alike for the impleader and anſwerer. [r] When therefore the glaſs was run, it was not lawfull for them to ſpeak farther. † Nay for ſcantneſs of time they were compelled to paſs by many things; and for that reaſon were they chary of their water; bidding that it ſhould be ſtopped at the reciting of Laws, or the like; which *Demoſthenes* intimates in Σὺ δ' ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ, as ῥῖνα ἐπιλαμβάνειν is to ſtop the noſe in [t] *Ariſtophanes.* [v] *Apuleius. At tu interim dum legit, aquam ſuſtine. Pancirollus. Ne ſi aqua interim effluxiſſet, amplius ſibi dicendi prohibita foret facultas,* leſt he might not have leave to ſpeak any more, if the water were ſpent. If any would give way to another to ſpeak while his glaſs was running, he might; which *Dem.* teſtifies, ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι λαλείτω. But if he would not permit it; he bid the *Præco* caſt it forth [a] ἐξέρα τὸ ὕδωρ. *Ulpian.* Τετίσιν ἔκβαλλε, From which kind of pleading it grew into a Proverb, [b] πρὸς τὴν κλεψύδρα, [c] *Cicero ad clepſydram,* to ſpeak by the hour or allotted time. His ſpeech being ended he ſate down. [d] The defendant then ſitting all that while over againſt him, untill he had finiſhed, after addreſſed himſelf to his anſwer, which he made from the right hand of the Judicatory; where he had a pulpit, and ſtation; for this reaſon, ſays * *Ariſtotle,* becauſe they would make both parties equal. For the ſuiter having the better part, they gave the upper part to the defendant. Or becauſe οἱ φεύγοντες or defendants, were for the moſt part in cuſtody; If therefore the guard ſtood on the right hand, the defendant ſtood there alſo: Thence then he pleaded for himſelf; in which plea he was onely to wipe out thoſe accuſations which his adverſary laid againſt him, [f] μόνον καθηρεῖ τινῶν λύσιν ποιεῖν, and in that had the plaintiff a prerogative. For he might object what he would

[q] Pollux. *l.* 8. p. 404.
[r] Ulpian. *in* Dem. *p.* 356.
† Demoſth. περὶ Βοιωτ. *p.* 586.
[t] *In* Pluto.
[v] *Apologia.*
[a] Demoſth. ὑπὲρ φορμ.
[b] Ariſtoph. *p.* 617.
[c] *Tuſc. Qu. l.* 2. *in fine.*
[d] Ulpian. *in* Dem. 226.
* *Problem.* περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας.
[f] Ulpian *in* Demoſth. *p.* 252.

would; nay, and as [g] *Aristotle*, forecast all before he commenced his suit, and feign to himself what he pleased. The defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that instant to clear himself, [h] either by witness, or probabilities, of all doubts whatsoever the plaintiff could cast in. Sometimes the plaintiff and defendant would desire advocates of the Judges, Συνηγόρους, hence [i] ὁπὶ μισθῷ συνηγορεῖν, *to plead for a Fee.* In the time of their pleading, witnesses were called, who came in and gave their testimonies; and after they had uttered what they had to say, they went to the Altar (as it seems to me either in, or very nigh to the Judicatory) and swore. [k] *Cicero. Athenis aiunt cùm quidam apud eos sanctè gravitèrque vixisset, & testimonium dixisset publicè, & ut mos Græcorum est, jurandi causâ ad aras accederet, unâ voce omnes judices, ne is juraret, reclamâsse: They report that in Athens, when a certain man ([l] Xenocrates) who had lived godly and gravely among them, had given witness, and as the fashion of the Greeks is, approached to the Altar to take oath, all the Judges with one voice cried that he should not.* (They would not, it seems, have belief rather be bound with religion than truth.) Fit to this is the answer of *Pericles* to a friend of his desiring him μαρτυρεῖν ψεῦδος, *to testifie a lie*; which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your friend, quoth he, to the Altar; that is, as far as conscience, religion and honesty shall permit; hence ἄχει βωμῶ φίλος εἰμὶ, *usque ad Aras*, grew I suppose to be a Proverb. *Plut. Apoph. p.* 112. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot justly say; in delivering their testimonies they were wont to touch the tips of the ear, (for reason to me unknown) called λοβοὶ from λαμβάνειν, *Etymologicon*; (But I rather may suppose it to be a Roman fashion, where the plaintiff was wont to pluck his witness by the ear, for remembrance sake. *Horace lib.* 1. *Sat.* 9.

——*Licet attestari? ego verò*
Oppono auriculam ——

To which *Virgil, Eclog.* 6. looked, saying,

——*Cynthius aurem*
Vellit & admonuit ——

And

[g] *Loco laudato.*

[h] Demosth. 219.

[i] Clemens Alexand. *These had certain pettifoggers under them that administred the Laws and forms of action.* Cicero, *Apud Græcos infimi homines mercedulâ adducti ministros se præbent in judiciis Oratoribus iis, qui apud illos συνηγορικοὶ vocantur.*

[k] *Corneliana, Vide ad* Atticum. *l.* 1. *c.* 13.

[l] *Vide* Laertium *in vita ejus.*

And at the end thereof wiſh all deſtruction to themſelves, and houſe, if they dealt falſely. Which if they did, they were ſubject to a Writ of ψευδομαρτυρίων, *of falſe witneſs*, and he that ſuborned them κακοτεχνιῶν. Sometimes the witneſs was not preſent at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear-ſay, which the Greek Lawyers term ἀκοὴ, as [m] ἀκοὴ τελευτησάντων, when they take it from thoſe that are dead, which went for current, and was allowable: But to bring a teſtimony from the mouth of one that was alive, and within the Territories of *Athens*, it would not paſs. As neither theirs who were diſcarded the liberties of the City, ἄτιμοι, or ſervants; or any man in his own cauſe. [n] The manner of witneſs was twofold; either by perſonal appearance, and teſtifying αὐτοπαθῶς, and then he was called μάρτυς, in no caſe liable to the Law, ἀπόδικος: or elſe by writing, by which he offered himſelf to his queſtions or attachments in Law, againſt whom he witneſſed, if he were not true; and this is ὠφλεία. Both parties being heard, and the altercation ceaſed, the *Præco* cried, *To whom E. N. hath ſeemed to violate right* (ſo they interpret, ἀδικεῖν, *jus violare*) *let him caſt in the black ſtone, or hollow; to whom he ſeemeth not, the whole, or white.* For we muſt know that anciently the Greeks gave their ſentences with black and white pebles, called [o] ψηφοι (which the French ſemblably term *Porcellanes*, χοῖρος, *porcus*) [p] *Ovid.*

Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrîſque Lapillis,
His damnare reos, illis abſolvere culpâ.

The antique faſhion was with white ſtones to abſolve, with black to condemn the accuſed. Pertinent to which is the ſaying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of *Sicily* to go home and anſwer for his life, counting it fooliſh to go thither whence he was never like to eſcape; when one asked, [q] Οὐ πιστεύεις τῇ πατρίδι σὺ κρίναι; *Wilt thou not truſt thy Country which begat thee to be thy Judge?* Οὐδὲ τῇ μητρὶ, quoth he, Δείδοικα γὰρ μὴ ἀγνοήσασα καὶ σφαλεῖσα τὸ ἀληθὲς, τὸν μέλανα ἐμοὶ κάλλι ἀντὶ τοῦ λευκοῦ λάβοι, *No not her that brought me forth; For I fear leſt ſhe being ignorant, and not conceiving the truth, miſtake the black for the white ſtone.* The black made *triſtem ſententiam*, and

[m] Demoſth. *p.* 619, 634.

[n] Ulpian. *in* Demoſth. 238.

[o] Ariſtoph. 438.

[p] *Metamorph.* 15. *F.* 1.

[q] Ælian. *Var. lib.* 13. *c.* 38. Plut. *Mor. p.* 140.

was ſo named; *the ſad ſentence*; the white *candidam* or *acquitting*. They uſed likewiſe black and white beans, in reſpect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have ſpoken as a Riddle κυάμους μὴ ἐσθίειν, *not to eat beans*; by [r] *Nonnus* interpreted μὴ προδιδόναι τὸ δίκαιον δωροδοκήμασιν, *not to undermine juſtice with bribes*; or that men ſhould get by the perverting of equity. I ſee no reaſon, but that I may think he means men ought not to be too forward in getting places of Judgment. For † κυαμοτρώξ in *Ariſtophanes* is by the Scholiaſt expounded δικαστὴς, and [t] κυάμους βοᾶν is uſed for a Judge, which properly ſignifies an eater of beans. But afterwards they had little pellets of Braſs; The bloudy ones of them were pierced through, therefore termed, [v] πεπυρωμένοι· the ſaving were whole, ἄτρυπα. Of theſe every one took, of each, one from the Altar, as I have ſaid, [x] where laying their hands upon the ψήφους, or balls, they intimated by a tranſpoſition of them, (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black again) that they would not for envy or bye-reſpects, but indifferently and truly judge. When then they were ready to paſs ſentence, [a] the *Præco* carried about the Κάδον, or Καδίσκον, a certain pitcher (for ſo [b] *Xenophon* calls it, ὑδρίαν) having on the mouth of it a conveiance like a Tunnel, named χημός, but the top thereof was covered cloſe, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoiding of deceit, I ſuppoſe, leſt one man might caſt in more; and therefore were they to touch the ψῆφον onely with their forefinger, middle, and thumb, [c] *Ariſtoph.* Τὰς βεῖς λαμβάνων τῷ δακτύλῳ, ἀνίσταται. But we muſt know that the black and white pellets were not promiſcuouſly caſt into one pot, but two; [d] The one which freed was made of Braſs called πρῶτος, whether becauſe they firſt threw into it their voices, or becauſe it may ſignifie the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being woodden ὕστερος. After the Crier had gone round with both, becauſe ſome would keep their balls, and for favour not give their voice againſt a friend or great perſon, therefore he cried * τίς ἀψήφιστος; ἀνιστάσθω, *who hath not caſt in his ball? let him riſe.* So he roſe and threw it in.

Then

[r] *In* Naz. *Stelit.* ιζ'.

† *Pag.* 290.

[t] Lyſiſtrata. *p.* 870.

[v] Pollux. *l.* 8. *p.* 407. Ulpian. *in* Dem. *p.* 470.

[x] Ulpian. *in* Dem. *p.* 162.

[a] Ariſtoph. 485.

[b] *Pag.* 263.

[c] *Pag.* 437. *vid. Schol.*

[d] Ariſtoph. *Veſpis.* 500.

* Ariſtoph. *Veſpis.*

Then they took them out and numbred them, and in matter of lands, money or the like, whoſe veſſel (for there was as many ſet, as the number of the litigants came to) had moſt, got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magiſtrate ſtood with a Rod, and laid it over thoſe that were told, leſt they ſhould miſtake the one for the other, or wittingly do it. For ſo were they wont to doe; thence named [f] ψηφοκλέπτειν. Which [g] *Tucer* objects to *Menelaus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulyſſes*, and therefore he calls him κλέπτην ψηφοποίον. Schol. δόλιον κρίνων, not amiſs ψηφοκλέπτην. [h] When the number was known, if the white or ſolid balls were more, they took their Tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a ſhort line, as a token of abſolution; if the black or hollow were more, they drew a longer line, as condemning. Hence [i] ἅπαν τιμᾶν μακράν, may be uſed for to condemn every body. The thing it ſelf they termed [k] ἀλοκίζειν, as *Ariſtophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown (as none ever was without the ſentence of the Judges) his adverſary wrote down what damages he ſhould pay, which they term ἐπιγράφειν. [m] *Plutarch*, δίκης τάλαντα τίμημα ἑκάτερος δικῶν ἐπιγραψάμενος. [n] For it was an uſe of old for thoſe that went to law to make agreements, I know not whether by oath, for they did ſwear by three Gods Ἰκέσιον, Καθάρσιον, Ἐξακεσήνειον, and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would ſtand to ſuch and ſuch conditions, before ſentence, that he that was caſt ſhould undergo ſomewhat; and afterwards ἐπιγράφειν, that is, ſet down what loſs of limbs, or life, or means, &c. for although they did [o] ἐνεχυράζεσθαι, give their eſtates as pledges to anſwer, and meet at the Court; yet it may be that might be leſs, or more than the fine. There was in cauſes capital another proceeding, like to that in the City of [p] *Venice*, where they gave two ſentences. In the firſt they determined whether they ſhould condemn, or free: If in the firſt he was condemned, the manner of puniſhment was ordained in the ſecond: but if in the firſt they found no cauſe of death, they bad the accuſed to fine himſelf, which [q] *Xenophon* intimates by ἐπιτιμᾶν, and if it were too

[f] *Schol.* Naz. *in* πλ.
[g] Sophocles Ajace. *p.* 68.
[h] *Schol.* Ariſt. 438.
[i] Ariſtoph. *Veſp. loco citat.*
[k] *Pag.* 491.
[l] Ariſtoph. *p.* 472.
[m] Βίοις ῥητ. *p.* 454.
[n] *Schol.* Ariſt. *in* πλ. *p.* 50.
[o] *Schol.* Ariſt. *p.* 740.
[p] Contaren. *de Rep.* Ven. *l.* 3.
[q] *Apolog.* Socr. *p.* 265.

too little the Judges doubtleſs made it more, as the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, if I forget not: The cuſtome is ſet down by [r] *Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Socrates*; *Ergò ille quoque damnatus eſt*, &c. *And he too was condemned*; not onely by the firſt ſuffrages, but alſo by thoſe, which by appointment of the Laws they were to give the ſecond time. For in *Athens* the accuſed being found guilty, if the offence were Capital, they weighed and conſidered the Penalty. When the ſentence was to be given by the Judges, they asked the Defendant, what he thought himſelf to have deſerved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Commonwealth this is not obſerved.) In Trial, if there be more for the priſoner's liberty, than againſt him, he is ſtreight acquitted; but if more than half be in the pot of condemnation, he ſuffers. † *Socrates* at the firſt had two hundred-eighty and one more againſt him than on his ſide; and at the next, eighty more were added to the former; ſo in all he had three hundred threeſcore and one condemnatory ſuffrages. But fewer might have done as much. For we reade in [t] *Demoſthenes* of *Cimon* like to be puniſhed with death, πλὴν τριῶν ψήφων, *if three had not been wanting.* And again, † Τριῶν δ' μόναι ψῆφοι ἐλιπέγησαν τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ τιμῆσαι. Nay one was ſufficient. [v] *Demoſthenes.* Μιᾶ μόνον ἀλῶναι ψήφῳ. But *Ulpian* on the place ὥστε μικρὰν δοθῆναι τιμωρίαν, ſays, that he was lightly puniſhed. [x] If the voices were equal, then was the priſoner looſed; becauſe ſometimes he might be accuſed upon ſuſpicion, or of thoſe things which he did not willingly commit, or perhaps was ſued out of envy; and many other reaſons given by * *Ariſtotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave ſome place for pity and compaſſion; to which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the † deſerts of their anceſtours; their own lives formerly well led. [y] Sometimes ſhewed they their wounds; and brought the venerable gray hairs of their parents, but [z] mothers chiefly, to intercede in ſilence: Sometimes * embracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view; or cauſed them to [a] come up into the βῆμα, or pulpit, and ſupplicate with tears: which wrought ſo much upon the Judges,

[r] *De Orat.* 1. *fol.* 61. b.

† Laert. *in* Socrat. *p.* 115.

[t] *Pag.* 436.

† *Pag.* 430.

[v] *Pag.* 338.

[x] Ariſtoph. *p.* 244.

* *Probl.* τμ. κδ'.

† Dem. *p.* 492.

[y] Ariſt. *T.* 3. *p.* 292.

[z] Dem. *p.* 493.

* Ariſt. *loco cit.* παιδία ἀναβιβαζόμενοι.

[a] Ariſt. *p.* 469, 499.

Judges, that [b] *Aristophanes* in a scoff presents one ἀποδακρύσασα ἢ γνώμῃ, *drowning his sentence in weeping.* Then in compunction would the Judges speak to the Prisoner, [c] Καλδία, Καλδία, wishing him to go down from the βῆμα, a token often of Mercy; though now and then it proved otherwise. Nay it was a word of displeasure too; as when [d] *Plato* would have been Advocate for *Socrates:* Νεανίσκου ὤν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦλθ' ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναξόντων, they thundred out Καλαξάντων, τοῦτον καλδῆναι. Neither may I forget [*] *Amynias* the brother of *Æschylus* the Tragedian; who, when the people would have stoned his brother for some impiety brought on the stage, held up his elbow and arm without a hand, lost in the fight at *Salamis:* by which spectacle the Judges calling to mind the merits of *Amynias,* dismissed the Poet. Neither may I omit what [f] *Xenophon* objects to them, that they cared not so much for justice, as regarded what might conduce most to their own profit, and be convenient: [g] As that they condemned innocents, and spared offenders that could speak well. Furthermore, another fault of theirs was the prolonging of cases a whole year, says [h] *Xenophon,* and [i] *Aristophanes,* Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νυνὶ τὰς ὑπερεξηκοντούτεις εἰσάγομεν, ἀλλ' εἰσὼ δὶς ἀναβεβλήκασα, *Now we do not handle suits of above threescore years, but we are put off till the next day.* Τὰς ἐν τοῖς εἴκοσιν γὰρ ἐκδικάζομεν, *For we come to trial within twenty years.* This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitude of their imployments. As long as the case hung in suspense, the name of the accused was (as among the *Romans,* whence [k] *Rei penduli*) exposed in a publick Table to view of all men, which they term [l] εἰσιτήρια. *Demosthenes,* ἵνα ἐκκρέμηται πρὸ τῆς Ἐπωνύμων. *Ulpian,* περιδεθῆναι καὶ πίναξι βασιλικοῖς. You see here the place too, *viz.* at the Statues of the *Eponymi:* Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but αἰτία, by [m] *Demosthenes* termed ψιλὸς λόγος, *a bare report;* but after proof ἔλεγχος· ὅταν οἷς ἂν εἴπῃ τις, καὶ πάνυ δῆλα ᾖ δείξει. After judgment past, [n] ἀδίκημα. An indictment of sacrilege, theft, murther, treason, is but αἰτία; the evidence and conviction makes it ἔλεγχος, the sentence ἀδίκημα.

[b] *Vesp. p.* 449.

[c] *Sch. Ar.* 500.

[d] Laert. Socr. *p.* 115.

[*] Ælian. *Var. Hist. l.* 5. *c.* 19.

[f] *Athen. Rep.* ὁ τῷ δικαίῳ αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον μελλων, ἢ τῷ αὐτοῖς συμφέροντι. *p.* 404.

[g] *Apol. Socr. initio.*

[h] *Athen. Rep. p.* 406.

[i] Ἐκκλησιαζ. 752, 753. *They are translated foolishly into Latin.*

[k] Εἰσιτήρια *is what the Professours of the Civil Law usually mean by* in proximum.

[l] Budæus *in Pand. No. Reg. p.* 31.

[m] Demost. *in* Mid. 347.

[n] *Cont.* Andr. 388.

[n] Dem. *p.* 406.

De

De Areopago, & ejus appellatione, Areopagitæ.

SECT. II. ON the Hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, ſtood the *Areopagus*; in the old Tranſlation of the Acts of the Apoſtles rendred *Vicus Martius*, by our Engliſh men, *Mars his Street*, falſely. For [o] πάγος bears not that ſignification, but what [p] *Juſtin Martyr* interprets, ὁ ὑψηλὸς τόπος, *an eminent place.* Ἐν γὰ ὄχθῳ τινὶ ἐπὶ τῶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ δικαστήριον. For that Judicatory was on a high rock. Therefore named by [q] *Æſchylus* and [r] *Euripides*, Ἄρεως ὄχθος, by † *Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, and [t] *Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra:* ſo called, as fond Antiquity would have it, [v] from the judgment of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the ſon of *Neptune*. But [x] *Juſtin Martyr*, becauſe he was there arraigned of adultery, μοιχείας ἐκεῖσε δίκας ἔδωκαν. But alike true. It pleaſes me well to conſider the ſuperſtition of the Ancients, that conſecrated high places to their deities, and erected the ſtatues of their Gods upon hills. As [y] *Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Ancheſmus*, whence *Jupiter Parnethius*, *Hymettius*, *Ancheſmius*. And as in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a Hill, Ποσειδῶνος πάγος· *Saturn* another, Κρόνου πάγος· *Pan* another, Πανὸς πάγος· *Mercury* another, Ἑρμοῦ πάγος· ſo *Mars* his *Areopagus*. [z] *Æſchylus* gives it a nomination from the *Amazons*, ſacrificing to *Mars* there when they came and fought againſt *Theſeus*. Or, if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes the name from the caſes in it handled, of bloud wilfully ſhed: ſo *Heſychius*, Ἄρεως φονικὰς, that when [a] *Juvenal* calls it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpret it, *The Court of Murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the [b] Tragedian, *The moſt uncorrupt, ſharp, reverend Council*, than which nothing is more conſtant (ſays [c] *Tully*, comparing it to the Roman Senate) nothing more ſevere; as by [d] *Pſeudo Dictys Cretenſis*, it is ſtyled *Judicium ſeveriſſimum per omnem*

[o] *When* Tullius *had divided the Roman field, he made, on high hills and places fortified by nature, refuges for the husbandmen, and called them* πάγους, Dion. Hal. 4. *Not as if it ſignified a village, but as it was ſituated:* For Pagus villa ruſtica *comes from* πηγὴ, *becauſe built near a well.* Perot. [p] *In Acta. p.* 136. [q] *Eumenid. p.* 296. [r] *Elect. p.* 836. † *Metamorph. l.* 6. *fab.* 2. [t] *Vide* Scalig. *in conject.* [v] Demoſth. *p.* 413. Pauſ. *p.* 26. Simeon. Met. *&* Pachym. *in vit.* Dionyſ. Areopag. [x] *Loc. citato.*

[y] Pauſ. *Attic. p.* 31.

[z] *Eumenid. p.* 296.

[a] *Satyr.* 9. *v.* 100.

[b] Æſchylus. *p.* 297.

[c] *Ad* Attic. *l.* 1. *Ep.* 11.

[d] *De bello Tro. l.* 6. *p.* 147.

omnem Græciam. Than which none judged better, more juſt, or honeſt, ſays * *Xenophon.* [f] *Plutarch* writes that this Court was ordained by *Solon*; and [g] *Cicero* received the like opinion; but that ſeems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* preſently brings, quoted in the thirteenth Table; that they who had loſt their liberties ſhould be reſtored again, unleſs they were condemned by the *Areopagites*, *Epheta*, *Prytanes*, *Baſileis*, of murther, ſlaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, [h] Τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πρὸ Σόλωνος; &c. *Who were condemned in Areopagus before Solon's time?* (if he firſt inſtituted the *Areopagites.*) [i] Others are of opinion that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Ephetæ* (Judges ſo called, becauſe when formerly the *Baſileus* made inquiſition after murther unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it ἐφέσιμον, that is, tranſlated it to the *Ephetæ*, their number was but fifty one and though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little and little they became ridiculous.) [k] *Poſſardus* ſays, he aboliſhed their ſeverity, and ſubſtituted the *Areopagites.* But [l] *Urbo Emmius* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Authour of this Senate, but brought it into a better form, made it more ſtrong and firm, and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it ſeems leſſened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Ephetæ*; *Solon* reſtored that authority and made it greater. [m] To this company none were admitted, but wiſe, wealthy and noble men; [n] famous for good life, and innocency, τὸν ὅλον πάσαις ἀνεπίληπτον, whom no man could Juſtly charge of miſdemeanour. Nay, men whoſe behaviour was intolerable, [o] ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πράγμασιν ἀνεκλοὶ ὄντες, after they were choſen into the College of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and bluſhing at their former diſpoſitions, ὀκνοῦντες τῇ φύσει χρῆσθαι, changed their natures, and embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertain; [p] *Nicephorus* makes them but nine; as *Maximus* too out of [q] *Philochorus*; *Pachymerius* fifty and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is ſomewhat, that they conſiſted of fifty and one, beſides the Nobility moſt wiſe and rich, πλὴν ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ βίῳ σώφρονι διαφερόντων. By which words he ſeems to aim at the nine *Archontes*; [r] who when they had governed one year, and given an account of their

* Ἀπομνημ. p. 448.
[f] *In* Solone. p. 63.
[g] *Offic. l.* 1.
[h] *Loc. laudato.*
[i] Pollux. *l.* 8. p. 407.
[k] *De Athen. Mag. p.* 446.
[l] *De Rep. Athen.* p. 20.
[m] *Vid.* Maximum *in Prolog. ad* S. Dionyſ. *opera &* Niceph. *lib.* 2. *in vita* Dion.
[n] Pachymer.
[o] Iſoc. *in Areopag. p.* 133.
[p] *Loco ſupra laudato.*
[q] *Atthid. l.* 2.
[r] *Anonym. in Argu. Oratio.* Androtia.

their Offices, and had administred all things justly, were chosen yearly into this * Society. For which election annual, the number was doubtfull. For some might die in that space; or all live, and in the next year be increased. *Volaterran*, out of an old inscription in *Acropolis*, says that they were three hundred, ΤΩ͂ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΆΤΩ, &c. *To the most famous Rufius Festus, Proconsul of Greece and Areopagite, the Council of Areopagus consisting of three hundred, and the people of Athens set up this Monument for a testimonial of his good will and benevolence.* But that might onely happen when this was erected. † They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, εἰ μή τις μεγάλως ἥμαρτε, unless for some grand offence. ‡ *Bozius* tells us (how true I wot not) that they were all Priests. *Athenienses olim*, &c. The *Athenians*, quoth he, did strive to challenge to themselves the prerogative of wisedom, and to them is it bent what the Apostle says, *The Greeks seek after wisedom.* Nevertheless the *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things consisted of Judges that were Priests, and the High Priest of all that asked every of their sentences, took the suffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For [v] they were overseers of all; [x] Judges of wilfull murthers; wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make some, having a desire to drive a man out of *Athens*, go to a Chirurgeon and make an incision in their heads, that they might sue him whom they hated upon an action of battery, as [y] *Mantithæus* against *Bœotus*. They sate upon incendiaries, and impoisoners, if the party died that took their doses. [a] They saw that the Laws should be put in execution, such as [b] *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statutes. [c] In a word, all great *delinquencies* came under their censures. They inquired into the behaviours of men; and we reade in [d] *Xenophon*, that they sharply reproved a young man for his loose living. Ἀναλαμπρύνων αὐτὸν ὡς Ἀρεοπαγίτης, &c. says the *Deipnosophist*. * *Valerius Maximus*. *Est & ejusdem Urbis* [f] *sanctissimum consilium Areopagus*, &c. *There is likewise in that City the most sacred Council Areopagus*, where they were wont most diligently to enquire, what every of the

* *They were of those Magistrates that were chosen by Lot, as the* Archon, Thesmothetæ, Basileus, Polemarchus, *for which cause* Pericles *was not of that number, because he never attained to these Offices.* Plut. *in* Peric. *p.* 113.

† *Anonymus loco laudat.*

‡ *De statu Italiæ adversus* Machiavel.

[v] Plutarch, Solon. *p.* 63.

[x] Ælian. *Var. l.* 15. *c.* 15. Dem. *p.* 406.

[y] Demosth. *in Orat.* περὶ Βοιωτοῦ περὶ ὀνόματος.

[a] Dem. *p.* 445.

[b] Pachymer.

[c] *In* Sympos. *unless I am extremely forgetfull.*

[d] *It is quoted likewise by* Athenæus. *Deipn. l.* 4. *p.* 167.

* *Lib.* 2. *c.* 6.

[f] Aristides, *T.* 1. *p.* 331. τὸ ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι δικαστήριον τιμιώτατον καὶ ἀγιώτατον.

the *Athenians* did, by what gain he maintained himſelf, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they muſt give an account of their lives, might embrace honeſty. [g] The Greek Authour tells us that except in great caſes of neceſſity they medled not with ſtate affairs; but it ſeems otherwiſe. For if any one ſay, quoth [h] *Tully*, that the *Attick* Republick can be well governed, without the Council of the *Areopagites*; he may as well ſay that the World may be governed without the Providence of the Gods. When the *Medes* and *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, [i] by the advice of them was the War waged, wherein *Themiſtocles* purchaſed an everlaſting memory of a Victory. [k] And when their publick Treaſury was bare, they furniſhed each man with eight *Drachmes*, and ſtored the Ships with Mariners. Which advice, when they had won the day, was a cauſe, ſays [l] *Ariſtotle*, συνλανωτίεσιν πεῖσαι ἐπὶ πολίτειαν, to give ſtrength and ſinews to the Commonwealth. [m] Under their ſight were all the youth of *Athens*. For this reaſon eſpecially, becauſe that when they were reckoned among men, and were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them, than when they were Children. (Not obſerved by our Countrymen in ſending their Sons young to the *Inns of Court*.) Youth, and heat of bloud, unſtaidneſs in judgment, raſhneſs in adventures, and proneneſs to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong, tender years to their own deſtruction. To them appertained blaſphemies againſt their Gods; violating of Religion, and divulging Myſteries, as when *Euryclides* the *Hierophanta* in anſwer to the queſtion of *Theodorus*, [n] Τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια; *Who offended againſt the myſteries?* Οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντες, replyed, *Such as open them to thoſe who are not initiated.* Therefore, quoth the Philoſopher, art thou impious. For which crime, had not *Demetrius Phalarius* befriended him, the *Hierophanta* was in danger, εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἀναχθῆναι πάλιν, *to have been brought before the Council of Areopagus.* By virtue of which authority S. *Paul* was here judged for teaching ſtrange Gods (as they ſuppoſed. [o] For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*; yet their

[g] *Anonym. Arg. Orat.* Androt.

[h] *De Natura Deorum.* 2.

[i] *Eſt enim bellum geſtum conſilio Senatus ejus.* Cicero. *Off.* 1.

[k] Plutarch. *in* Themiſtocl. *pag.* 84. *l.* 3.

[l] *Polit. l.* 5. *c.* 4.

[m] Iſocrates *Areop. p.* 132.

[n] Laert. *lib.* 2. *in* Ariſtip. *p.* 154.

[o] Simeon. Metaphraſt.

their Lords made them αὐτονόμους, *sui juris*; and permitted them to keep their ancient customs. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the felony committed, the Appellant brought his indictment to the *Basileus*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three several times to debate the business, in the fourth month, brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*, [p] and putting off the Crown which he was wont to wear, sate down as Judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, says [q] *Lucian*, that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden, [r] πρooιμιάζεσθαι ἢ οἰκτίζειν, *to move to compassion, and use Proems*, as in other Courts, wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed † παραγῶνες. This *Aristotle* calls ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν, *to speak beside the matter*. Before the trial both parties swear (which they style [t] ὅρκωσιαν.) The Appealer standing upon the *testes* of a Goat, a Ram and a Bull (usual to the *Greeks*, as *Tyndarus* swore the Suiters of *Helena*, that they should revenge any wrong done to her, and her predestinated husband, [v] ὅτι τῶν ἵππων τῶν τομίων, and *Hercules* the children of *Heleus*, ὅτι τομίων κάπρων) took Oath, therefore named [x] ὅρκος ὁ τομίων, in which he maintaining that he dealt justly and rightly, and that he was joyned in affinity to the slain man; [y] which if he were not, he could not prosecute, the Law forbidding. The reason why he stood ἐπὶ τομίων, I suppose is, because they are the instruments of generation, and in that Oath, if he were not true, he wished an extirpation of his house, himself and his posterity. In which if he were perjured, he was liable to no punishment, as among the Romans, [z] *Jurisjurandi contempta religio satis Deum ultorem habet.* Forswearing is punished by a revenging God, but if any swore false by the life of the Prince, he fell under the *Julian* Law, *Læsæ Majestatis.* After this the prisoner swore, which among us will not be allowed: Then setting each of them upon [a] two silver stones, one of which was named λίθος τῆς ὕβρεως, *the stone of injury*, the other Ἀναιδείας, by *Adrian Junius* thought Ἀναιδίας *of innocence*, not impudence.

[p] Pollux. *l.* 8.

[q] Hermotim. *p.* 505.

[r] Pollux. *p.* 405.

† *Vide* Ulp. *in* Demost. *p.* 396.

[t] Pollux *loco laudato.* Dem. *cont.* Arist. *p.* 413.

[v] Pausanias Lacon. *p.* 103.

[x] *Idem* Messaniacis. *p.* 126.

[y] Demosth. *p.* 608. & 416. *These agreed, says* Possard, *about the punishment, according to the damage received.* De Athen. Mag. *p.* 449.

[z] *Lib.* 2. C. de reb. cred.

[a] Paus. *Attic.* *p.* 27.

pudence. Then the Appealer asked the Priſoner three queſtions, which [b] *Æſchylus* calls τρία παγκρίσια. Firſt, whether he were guilty or no, [c] εἰ κατέκτονας; to which he anſwered, ἔκτονα ὀυ οὐκ ἔκτονα, yea, or nay: ſecondly, ὅπως κατέκτονας; for what reaſon he did the murther? Thirdly, Τίνες βεβούλευται; who were the Abettors? Then aroſe there certain Lawyers, ἐξηγηταὶ, who ſhewed whether the Murther was committed [d] σὺν δίκῃ, *in juſtice.* (* For in *Athens* there were ſuch Councellours, to whom in matters of difficulty they had reſort.) By σὺν δίκῃ, you muſt underſtand thoſe cauſes, in which [f] *Draco* thought it lawfull to kill a man. As taking him committing uncleanneſs with wife, mother, ſiſter, daughter, or concubine, or any whom he accounts among his children; the party ſo offending might be ſlain in the manner by him, againſt whom he had treſpaſſed. Likewiſe, in the defence of a man's goods, if the thief were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquiſition, they paſſed to ſentence, which was given very privily, as *Juvenal* intimates,

Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis.

without ſpeaking (as the † *Tabellares ſententiæ* of the *Romans*, in which they wrote C. if they condemned, A. if abſolved, N.L. if the caſe were not manifeſt) hence Ἀρειοπαγίτης σεμνοπρεπής, for one that is cloſe and ſilent; and Ἀρειοπαγίτης, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, and in whoſe countenance is [g] *triſtis ſeveritas*, ὀφρὺς τοῦ σκυθρωποῦ καὶ ἐπιβρίμου καὶ σωφρονικοῦ. Whatſoever they concluded of, ſtood irrecoverable, neither [h] could there be any appeal to another Tribunal. And no marvel; for ſo upright was their Sentence, [i] that none, either Appellant or Priſoner, could ever ſay, that he was unjuſtly condemned. Nay both parties, as well thoſe that are caſt, as they that caſt, are alike contented, [k] ἥδωνται τὴν ψῆφον ἀμφότεροι. After doom the priſoner was to ſuffer death. In which Execution alſo the *Areopagites* had a care leſt the innocent ſhould be puniſhed with the guilty. [l] When therefore they had condemned a woman for poiſoning another, they deferred the Execution, becauſe ſhe was great with child, and ſtreight way

[b] *Eumenid.* p. 292.
[c] *Ibidem.*
[d] Æſchylus p. 293.
* Demoſth. *vid.* p. 647.
[f] Demoſth. p. 312. *Vide* Demoſth. *contra* Ariſt.
† *Vide* Sylvium *in Orat. pro* Flacco.
[g] Terentius.
[h] Ἡ τῶν κρίσις οὐκ ἐξίστησι τοῦ κρείττονος ἔθους. Pachymerius.
[i] Dem. *con.* Ariſtocrat. p. 413.
[k] Ariſtid. *Tom.* 1. p. 185.
[l] Ælian. *Var. Hiſt. l.* 5. *c.* 13.

way after her delivery put the mother to death. Which
[m] Valer. Max. *p.* 322. cuſtome is by us alſo obſerved at our Aſſizes. [m] It will not be amiſs to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconſul of *Aſia*; who, when a Dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband and ſon, who had deprived her of a hopefull youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commanded the woman and her accuſer to appear ſome hundred years after, that by ſuch a bottom of time, ſcarce able to be unwinded, they might ſhew, that they would neither condemn nor acquit
[n] *Lib. quinto.* the woman. One thing more [n] *Quintilian* tells us, that they condemned a boy for putting out the eyes of Quails; becauſe it was a ſign of a mind likely to prove moſt pernicious. Their power was ſhaken and ſomewhat pluckt down
[o] Plutarch, *Vit. p.* 355. *& Mor.* 391. by [o] *Ephialtes*, a ſore enemy of *Oligarchical* Government, and more inclining to the people, who was ſecretly ſlain
[p] Plut. *in* Pericle. *p.* 113. by [p] *Ariſtodicus* of *Tanagra*. They ſate three days every month, τελείτη φθινοντος, νεᾶτη, δικάζοντες.

De Judicio ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

SECT. III. AFter the ſiege of *Troy*, ſome of the Grecians came with *Diomedes*, [a] who kept the *Palladium*, to the coaſt of *Attica*; and arriving by night at *Phalerum*, ſuppoſing it to be an enemy's Countrey, went to make a prey. Where *Demophon*, ignorant that they were Grecians, came to aid and defend his own, and ſlew many of the *Argivi*; which they caſt out unburied; whoſe bodies when no beaſts had toucht
[a] Dictys Cretenſis *de bello Trojano l.* 5. *p.* 140.
[b] *Libro octavo p.* 406. (b οὐδὲν θεσπισθὲν ξώων, ſays *Pollux*; the Interpreter, *nullus vivus*; I better think it no creature either Fowl or Beaſt) *Acamas* ſhewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*. Being warned then by the Oracle (who named them Ἀγνῶτας, that is, [c] neither knowing, nor known) they buried them, and in that place conſecrated the *Palladium*; where they made alſo a Judicatory for murthers unwillingly committed, and called it * Ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, *Juxta Palladium*, as ſome. Here was *Demophon* firſt tried, who returning from this
[c] *Schol.* Soph. *in* Oed. Tyr.
* *It is ſimply ſo called* Palladium. Ælian. *Var. l.* 5. *c.* 15. περὶ ᾧ τῷ ἀκουσίων ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

this battel, killed with his horſe, ſomewhat diverting, an *Athenian*; [d] For whoſe kindred ſome think he ſatisfied the Law; or generally for the *Argivi*. [*] If any had ſtricken a man or a woman, and the party chanced to die, he was judged in this Court. [f] In ſuch caſes the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not puniſhed with perpetual exile, ἀειτυγία, as in wilfull Felony; (kept by us in *England* once, called *Abjuration*, where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would never return) but he did [g] ἐξέρχεσθαι, in a gentler term. [h] For it was a cuſtome of old, to give a certain ſum of money (the *Attick* Law χρήματα ἐπίπαια, in wilfull all was confiſcate) to the kindred of the ſlain that they might not depart their Country: but if they could not purchaſe an abode, they went ſomewhere elſe. [i] *Ovid*,

Cæde puer factâ Patroclus Opunta reliquit.

[k] Their diſcontinuance was but for one year, ἄλλως δ' ἔτυχεν ὁ φονεὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐνιαυτοῦ. The money diſburſed on ſuch occaſions was properly called ποινὴ, *quaſi*, φοινὴ, from φόνος, *murther*, as if it were the price of bloud. And the Scholiaſt on *Sophocles* tells us that ποινὴ is ſpoken onely ὅταν κολάσεως χρημάτων, of payment of money, but abuſively of any puniſhment. [l] If the party wounded had forgiven the offender before his death, or the allies of the man deſperately hurt, none could afterwards compell him to flee; otherwiſe he fled. And in the flight, he betook himſelf to ſome acquaintance; by whom he was cleanſed from the guilt with certain ceremonies of waſhing, which the Romans call *Februa*. So was *Patroclus*, *Peleus*, *Medea*, *Alcmeon* purified: [m] *Ovid*,

Gracia principium moris fuit: illa nocentes
Impia luſtratos ponere facta putat.
Aſtoridem Peleus, ipſum quoque Pelea Phoci
Cæde per Æmonias ſolvit Acaſtus aquas.
Vectam frenatis per inane draconibus Ægeus
Credulus immeritâ Phaſida fovit ope;
Amphiaraïdes Naupactæo Acheloo
Solve nefas dixit; ſolvit & ille nefas.

[d] Pauſ. *Attic.* p. 27.
[*] Dem. *contra* Neæram. *p.* 727. *vid. p.* 647.
[f] Dem. *p.* 329.
[g] Demoſthenes, *Midiana.*
[h] Euſt. *in Il.* 1. Ἐθος παλαιὸν ὧν φονεῦσιν τοῖς, &c.
[i] *De Ponto l.* 1. *Eleg.* 4.
[k] Euſtath. *but* Demoſthen. ἕως ἂν αἰδέσηταί τις τῶν ἐν γένει τὸ πεπονθότος, *untill he obtained remiſſion from ſome of the kindred of the ſlain.*
[l] Demoſth.
[m] *Faſtorum* 2. *initio.*

Ah nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis
Flumineâ tolli poſſe putatis aquâ!

In this ceremony they did θύσαι, *ſacrifice*, ſays [n] *Demoſthenes*; which cuſtome likewiſe was obſerved by the [o] *Trazenians* in the luſtration of *Oreſtes* from the bloud of his Mother; which I gather by the Feaſt which they preſently celebrated there, and yearly obſerved afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may reade, taken out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegaſus*; the ſprinkling was with a little bough of Laurel, as I ſuppoſe, (by the words following perſwaded to it, which tells us, that when the καθάρσια were buried, there ſprouted out of them a Baytree) and after that καθαίρειν, θύειν, καὶ καθαρθῆναι. This, as I ſaid, was in his flight, Καίτοι δ' ὁπόταν καὶ καθαίρεσθαι νομίμοις τισί. The proceeding in this Court, was firſt, ὀμωμοσία, ſuch as before I mentioned, an Oath of each party, accuſer and defendant: ſecondly, λόγοι, their ſpeeches on both ſides: thirdly, γνῶσις δικαστική, Judgment. If the priſoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murthered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he ſhould flee, as above ſaid, untill he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Couſins of the deceaſed.

[n] Καλὰ Αἰσχιν. p. 414.
[o] Pauſan. *Corinth.* p. 74. Καθῆραι δέ φασιν Ὀρέστην καθαιρόντες καὶ ἄλλοις, &c.

De Judiciis in Delphinio. Pſyttaleio. Phreattoi.

SECT. IV.

AT *Athens* there was a Temple erected by † *Ægeus* (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honour of *Apollo Delphinius* and *Diana Delphinia*; [a] where was the Tribunal named ἐν Δελφινίῳ or ὅπου Δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον. * In this Judicatory were heard caſes of murther, when the party confeſſed the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. [b] For the Law required no puniſhment of any man that ſhould kill another taking him committing adultery with his wife, or uncleanneſs with his mother, ſiſter, daughter, concubine, or free children. Likewiſe if in preſervation of his goods, or own defence he ſpilt bloud, it was not capital. The firſt that was arraigned here was *Theſeus*, maintaining the right he had to ſlay the Thieves, ſays [c] *Pollux*, (I know not whether

† Plutarch. *p.* 4. *l.* 19.
[a] *Schol.* Ariſt. *p.* 333.
* Ælian. *Var. l.* 5. *c.* 15.
[b] Demoſth. *contra* Ariſt. *p.* 410, 411.
[c] *Lib.* 8. *p.* 406.

whether he mean *Sciron* and *Procruſtes*, &c.) and [d] *Pallas* with his children who were Rebels. Before this trial of *Theſeus*, whoſoever had ſlain any body was compelled to flee the Countrey, or ſtaying die; were the cauſe never ſo juſt. Ἐν Πρυλανείῳ, Here they ſate on things inanimate. As if a ſtone, timber, iron, or ſuch like, fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that flung this be not known, ſentence was paſt on that thing which ſlew him; and the [f] φυλοβασιλεῖς, that were the Maſters of this Court, were to ſee this thing caſt out of the Territories of *Athens*; to which [g] *Æſchines* alludes. Τὰ μὲν ξύλα, καὶ τοὺς λίθους, καὶ τὰ σίδηρον, τὰ ἄτιμα, καὶ ἀγνώμονα, ἐὰν τινα ἐμπεσόντα ἀπεῖπεν ἀπεργείζομεν. The firſt thing that here was judged was an Ax, wherewith the Prieſt whom they call Βουτόνον, had ſlain an Ox an the Altar of *Jupiter Polieus* in the time of *Erectheus*. Ἐν Φρεαττοῖ, In that part of *Pireæum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name Φρεαττύς, from *Phreatus* an *Heros*, ſome think; not becauſe it ſtood in a pit, whence [h] *Pollux* names it ἐν φρεάτει. Here they were judged who having fled out of another Countrey for unwilfull murther μήπω τῶν ἐκβαλόντων αὐτὸν ἀδεσμεύτων, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the ſpace of this exile it happened that he wittingly ſlew another, he anſwered here. The proceeding was in this ſort. The Judges aſſembled ἐν φρεαττοῖ, in a place ſeated on the Sea, [k] τὸν ἐπὶ γαλκύμου ἐπιβατὰ πλοῖον, where the guilty drawing near in a boat or bark was to make his apology, τῆς γῆς ἐκ ἀπτόμενον, not coming to land or touching it, neither caſting anchor, [l] or moaring his bark; and if he were found guilty he underwent deſerved puniſhment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of that fact, not diſcharging him of the former, [m] πλὴν ὅτι πρὸς ἕνα τοῦτον συγγνώμην ὑπάρχει. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are, in this; that, If he were caſt in this trial, he was expoſed to the cruel mercy of the wind and waves. Theſe laſt quoted words ſeem to contradict it. The firſt that ever anſwered here was *Teucer*, proving himſelf to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*: [n] whom they treacherouſly circumvented becauſe he defended not his father *Telamon*,

[d] Pauſan. *Att.* p. 27.

[f] Pollux *loco citato.*

[g] *Contra* Cteſiph. *p.* 103.

[h] *Lib.* octav. 406.

[i] Demoſth. *con.* Ariſt. 415.

[k] Demoſth.

[l] Rodolphus Gualter. *out of* Pollux *interprets it* Scalam terræ injicientem; *putting down a ladder; the Greek* καταβάθρων.

[m] Demoſth.

[n] Dictys Cretenſis *de bello Trojano lib.* 6. *p.* 145.

drove out of *Salamis*; unto which that he might be restored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to
° *Politic. 4. c. 17.* ° *Aristotle*, "Οσα τοῖς φεύγουσι φόνε, ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐπιφέρεσθαι· οἷον Ἀθήνησιν λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν Πρεαττοῖ δικαστήριον. Judicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for their bringing back again, such as in *Athens*, τὸ ἐν Πρεαττοῖ, when the party prosecuting will not admit of reconciliation.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παρέδυτον. Τείχωνον. Βαλβαχῶν. Φοινικῶν. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. Μηλίχα δικαστήριον. Ἐν Ἀφιδνῇ. Διαλῆται.

SECT. V.

BEsides these Courts of bloud and causes criminal, there were for civil matters the *Heliæa*, of which before for the excellency of it I treated. Παρέδυτον. Of this name there are two, παρέδυτον μεῖζον καὶ μέσον, *the greater and the middle*. In this Court were handled matters, says *Petitus*,
ᵖ *Polit. lib. 4. c. 17.* that exceeded not one drachm, to which ᵖ *Aristotle* might be thought to look, speaking of Judicatories, ὅσαι περὶ μικρῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσαι δραχμιαῖα, &c. And this was the meaning
ᵠ *Attic. p. 27. l. 13.* of ᵠ *Pausanias*, Ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συμβόλοις εἰς αὐτὸ, *Suing here for the least occasions*. The *Undecimviri* were Judges of the Court which made *Petitus* to suppose that it was not to be
ʳ *Pausanias ibid.* reckoned among the δέκα δικαστήρια. It stood ʳ ἐν ἀσήμῳ πόλεως, *in an obscure place of the City*, whence ἐν παρέδυτῳ, in
† *Pag. 450.* † *Demosthenes*, is by *Ulpian* expounded, *privily*, by a *Metaphor* taken from the situation of the Judicatory; or, παρατληρωμάτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις ἔνδον, καὶ κρύπτα τὰ φανερά, from goods secretly hidden. Ἐν παρέδυτῳ, διὰ τὸ λάθρα. Τείχωνον, from the form of it; which seems to have been triangular. Βαλβαχῶν and Φοινικῶν, from the colours that were painted
ˢ *Aristoteles Athen. Rep. apud Arist. Sch. p. 31.* ˢ διὰ τοῦ στηλίσκου τὴν εἰσόδου upon the post of the entry, answerable to which there was a staff given to the Judges, that they might know in what Court to sit. For they presently went to that Court which had the same colour with their staff. Τὸ διὰ Λύκῳ, from the statue of *Lycus* an *Heros*, which was there set up, having the face of a Wolf; where likewise the statue of *Juno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in

in every Court, hence [z] Λύκε δικαὶ, *Lyci decem*, for Sycophants, and ſuch as corrupt judgment, becauſe that ſuch perſons were very frequent and buſie there; And ſo think I *Pollux* is to be read, [a] πάλαι γὰρ συνήσαν οἱ συνδικάζοντες τὰ δικαστήρια (underſtand πρὸς ὃν or the like) at which they who bribed the Judicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture, ἔνθα οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ Λύκα μιγνύμενοι συνεφίροντο. The [b] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple near the Judicatory, where the Judges divided their money for pay, three *oboli* to each a day. [c] Μηλίχου δικαστήριον, This was a great Judicatory; ſo named from *Metichus* an Artificer which built it. Here, who had paſſed thirty years of his age, and was well and Nobly deſcended, and owed nothing to the publick Treaſury, might be choſen Judge. For of ſuch they all conſiſted. Ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Some have falſely ſuppoſed that there was a Tribunal ſo called: neither did [d] *Meurſius* think otherwiſe when he tranſlated theſe words, of * *Pollux*, ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ, *apud tribunal Ardettum.* The fault crept in by the negligence of the tranſcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ὤμνυον ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικάζεσθαι, *the Judicatories were wont to take Oath or be ſworn in Ardettus.* *Ardettus* is a place near the River *Iliſſus*, ſo named from *Ardettus* a Peer, who ſwore the people, being in ſedition and mutiny, to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is moſt probable, the Judges took oath (I cannot juſtly ſay preſently after their election) to give ſentence according to the Laws, and concerning things to which no Laws were enacted, in equity and juſtice, [f] by *Apollo Patrius*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter Rex.* And this the Etymologiſt affirms, ſpeaking of *Ardettus*, [g] Ἐν τούτῳ ὤμνυον τῷ χωρίῳ οἱ δικασταὶ δικαιοδοτοῦντες ὅρκον, *The Judges in this place took their Oath touching the diſcharge of their Office.* From whence among the Ancients ſuch as would preſently ſwear, were called [h] *Ardetti*, proverbially; as alſo thoſe who were perjurious and forſworn. [i] Καὶ Ἀρδήττες ἐπώρκους. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories in number ten. For Murther, *Areopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytaneum* and *Phreattys*: For other matters, *Heliæa*, *Trigonum*, *Parabyſtum*

[z] Zenobius.

[a] *Lib. octavo. p. 406. The place is extremely corrupted, as you may perceive by the falſe Greek.*

[b] *Veſp. p. 457.*

[c] Pollux. *l. 8.*

[d] *Athen. Att. l. 2. c. 12. p. 124.*

* *Lib. 8. p. 406.*

[f] Ἀπόλλω Πατρῷον, καὶ Δήμητερα, καὶ Δία Βασιλέα.

[g] *Etym. mag. p. 147.*

[h] Caſaub. Theoph. *Char. p. 178.*

[i] *Etym. Mag. loco laudato.*

(not the *Medium* but *Majus) Metichi forum, & ad Lycum;* where the Διαιτηταὶ were wont to sit, says [k] *Possardus*; of whom, because [l] *Emmius* numbers them among *Judicia quatuor præcipua, The four chief Courts*, I will now speak. Out of every Tribe were chosen [m] forty four men, [n] above threescore years old, who judged in several Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot, he was deprived of the privileges of an *Athenian* Citizen. [o] In former time there came no Controversie into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it exceeded ten drachms: Although [p] *Ulpian* tells us that they determined of petty businesses) but that seems to be, περὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς, *holy matters*, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their Jurisdiction. Whatever the διαιτηταὶ κληρωτοὶ judged, if the Plaintiff and Defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might refer it to the Senate (as appears out of the [q] Argument of *Demost. Orat. contra Callippum, &* [r] *Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot, as they gave them on what side soever, for the Plaintiff by themselves, and for the Defendant by themselves. † When they were appointed for the hearing of a case, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time, if neither, or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the suit, and wrote the accusation, with the fine which was required for damages; they received as a fee from the Plaintiff one drachm, which they called [s] διαίτιον, as also another from the Defendant, when they gave him his Oath. This Office was but annual; And because they would pervert justice, (as [v] *Demosthenes* is witness, [*] although they were not to judge before they had sworn) give sentence according to favour, envy, or for gain, therefore [x] at the years end they made an account of their function upon the last day of [y] *Thargelion*, on which it was lawfull for any to speak what he could object against them; and if any were faulty, they were ἄτιμοι. Thus much of the Διαιτηταὶ Καν-

[k] *De Mag. Athen. p.* 540.
[l] *Descrip. Reip. Ath. p.* 41.
[m] Ulpian. *in Dem. p.* 342.
[n] Pollux. *l.* 8. *p.* 407.
[o] Pollux. *ibid.*
[p] Demosth. *loco citato.*
[q] *Pag.* 678.
[r] *Lib.* 8. *p.* 407.
† *Vide* Dem. Midian, *&c.* Ulpian. *in illum. p.* 344.
[s] Pollux 8. *c.* 10. *p.* 408.
[v] *Orat. in* Bœotum *pro dote.*
[*] *Idem p.* 682. *n.* 41.
[x] Ulpian. *loco laudato. p.* 342.
[y] Petit. *Miscel. l.* 8. *p.* 211.

ζωλοί. There were other Διαιτηταὶ likewise, such as our Civilians call *Arbitri Compromissarii*, and we in English **Arbitrators**: whom two parties chose with a resolution to stand to their determination; whether in matter of debt, covenant, or other controversie whatsoever. Such by the *Attick* Law any might request, but with a necessity of abiding at their judgment. [z] For they could not appeal from them to any other Court. To refer matters to their Arbitrement, the Greeks term Ἐπιτρέπειν δίκαν. And it will not be superfluous here to relate the story of *Bunas* an *Athenian*, whom when the *Elei* and *Calydonii* had chosen arbitrator in a difference, after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the sentence untill at last he died. Whence it grew to a Proverb, † Βύνας δικάζει, *Bunas judicat*, *Bunas judgeth*, of those that defer to pass sentence, and hold a case long in suspence.

[z] *Vide legem apud* Dem. p. 344.

† Zenobius.

CAP. IV.

De Nominibus Judicialibus.

HAving thus treated of the *Attick* Courts, it follows that I speak of their Terms of Law, Writs and Accusations. These were of two sorts, private, and publick. The publick were properly termed Καλούμεναι, says [b] *Emmius*. Of Καλουμεναι there were divers sorts. Γραφὴ, φάσις, ἔνδειξις, ἀπαγωγὴ, ἀπόγνωσις, ἀνδραποδίσια, εἰσαγγελία. Γραφὴ, says [c] *Ulpian*, is ὅτε τις τῶν παρανόμων, of any trespass against the Law, by which the Statutes of the Commonwealth are violated; and most properly, [d] quoth he, elsewhere, it signifies an accusation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the same which in English we call a * Writ of Right, in Latin *Actio*, or *Formula*, as in [f] *Sueton. Injuriarum formulas intendere*, to serve a man with a Writ. [g] Φάσις is a kind of an information made against any for abuses in the Mines, or Custom-houses, for converting Tribute-money to a man's own use, or the like. Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuser and accused, and the

[b] *Descrip. Reip. Ath. p.* 41.

[c] *In* Dem. *pro Corona. p.* 159.

[d] *Orat. cont.* Lep. 296.

* *Sir* T. Smith. *Com. wealth of Eng. l.* 2. *c.* 10.

[f] *In* Vitellio.

[g] Pollux. *l.* 8. *p.* 387.

the fine, which the parties convinced, ſhould undergo, to be paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if they Informer had not the fifth part of the ſuffrages, he was to lay down the ſixth part of the fine; which the [h] Oratours call ἐπωβελίαν, from ὀβολὸς, becauſe it ſignifies the ſixth part of a Drachm. At the end of the accuſation, the Informer was to ſubſcribe the names of the witneſſes that were preſent. In general, all diſcoveries of private injuries are called φάσεις, which in Latin you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are ſtyled *Quadruplatores*; but among the *Athenians* not ſo, if [i] *Pollux* ſay right, κὴ τὸ μὲ πμηθὲν ἐζήτεῖτο ὑπὲρ ἀδικημάτων, εἰ κὴ ἄλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαίνειεν, *the amercement fell to the perſon injured, although another accuſed for him.* If the fine were written down a thouſand Drachms, and the Accuſer had not the fifth part of the voices, he paid two hundred and one Drachm: if it exceeded a thouſand, four hundred and one. Ἔνδειξις is a Writ againſt thoſe that owe to the City Treaſury, and yet go about to bear Office, ſays [k] *Ulpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The [l] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* takes it for the accuſing of any that did amiſs in publick affairs; and the [m] Interpreter of *Demoſthenes* in another place, ὑπὲρ ἀτίμων for men diſfranchiſed. But [n] *Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* againſt one taken in the manner, which the *Greeks* termed ἐπαυτοφώρῳ, [o] Schol. *Nazian.* ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ κλοπῇ, *Pollux* expreſſes by ὁμολογουμένου ἀδικήμα᾽Θ, *when the offence is confeſſed.* Becauſe men ſo apprehended were forced to condemn themſelves; no farther evidence required than from their own mouths. By which acknowledgment of their guiltineſs, without greater trial, they received their doom: [p] as among us when a priſoner arraigned, confeſſes his Indictment to be true, no twelve men go upon him: there reſteth but the Judges ſentence of the pain of death. Whence grew our Proverb, **Confeſs and be hang'd.** [q] *Pollux*, ὁμολογουμένου ἀδικήμα᾽Θ, ὑ κείσεως, ἀλλὰ πμωείας δεομένου. He that thus made his declaration, was to ſubſcribe his name, that if he were falſe, he might be liable to the Writ,

[h] Demoſth. *cont.* Caricl. *p.* 699. *n.* 6. *cont.* Everg. & Mneſib. *p.* 646. *n.* 90. *cont.* Steph. A. *p.* 622. *n.* 9. *cont.* Onetora. Ἐξελ. ϛ'. *p.* 528. *n.* 19. *cont.* Aphob. ϛ. *p.* 508. *m.* 97.

[i] *Onomaſt. l.* 8. *c.* 6. *p.* 387.

[k] Demoſth. *p.* 391.

[l] *In Equit. p.* 303.

[m] *Pag.* 469.

[n] *Onom. l.* 8. *p.* 388.

[o] *In Stelit.* 1.

[p] *Sir* T. Smith *Com. wealth of Engl. l.* 2. *c.* 26. *p.* 281.

[q] *Loco laud.*

Writ, ψῆφος ἐνδείξεως. The declaration was againſt men who were not preſent. Ἀπαγωγή, is a carrying of a man before the Magiſtrate, being taken in the fact, whom otherwiſe he was to accuſe by declaration in his abſence. By which a thouſand Drachms were endangered. In this ἀπαγωγῇ, they brought not all offenders to the ſame Magiſtrates, but according as they were made Judges of ſuch and ſuch offences; [r] ſometimes to the eleven; ſometimes to the † *Theſmothetæ*; ſometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publick Treaſury; or bound for thoſe places or Countries where it was not permitted for him to go; or one who had committed Murther; if by reaſon of weakneſs he durſt not venture to apprehend the perſon, and ἀπάγειν, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the houſe where ſuch a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers term ἀοπλεῖσθαι. Ἀνδροληψίου, is when a Felon hath committed Murther, and flies for ſuccour to any; ([t] as the Law ſuffered any to receive him) if the kindred of the ſlain or others had requir'd the Malefactour to be delivered to them, and the Protectour would not, it was lawfull to enter into his houſe, and carry away any three perſons, as ſome tranſlate it, or all ſave three, ἄχει τριῶν, [v] as others, who were to anſwer for the outrage done. But who ſo entred unjuſtly, was not to eſcape unpuniſhed. Εἰσαγγελία, ſays * *Ulpian*, is an accuſation concerning great and publick matters, ſuch as [x] elſewhere he ſpeaks of, to wit the diſſolution of the *Democracy*; or if an Oratour had ſpoken what was not for the benefit of the Wealpublick; if any went to Wars before they were ſent; or betray'd a Garriſon, Army, or Fleet. In other accuſations, if the accuſer had not the fifth part of the ſuffrages, he was fined a thouſand Drachms, and loſt the privileges of a Citizen, in this he was uncontrollable. But in after time, becauſe men would accuſe preſently for none, or ſmall offences; therefore was there a Law enacted, that whoſoever accuſed by εἰσαγγελία, and had not the fifth part of voices on his ſide, was fined a thouſand Drachms, although he loſt not the privileges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes,

[r] Ulp. *in* Dem. p. 389.
† *Idem.* p. 407.
[t] Dem. p. 416.
[v] *Idem. cont.* Ariſt. p. 41.
* *In* Dem. p. 58.
[x] *Eund.* p. 453.

crimes, but was onely by bare word of mouth, and as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called Εἰσαγγελικός. The Senate was Judge (*Pollux* says that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, and *Phalareus* fifteen hundred, where the Interpreter errs; for πρὸς πεντακόσιοι is five hundred to them, as καὶ πρὸς in *Demosthenes*, and somewhat more) and whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined; but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publick actions; Private were these that follow, more properly called Δίκαι.

Αἰκίας δ'. is an action against a man, who, when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which the [y] Greeks call ἄρξαι πληγῶν ἀδίκων. [z] The matter was heard before the Judges and though the Law ordained not any set sum of money for damages, yet it was permitted for the party smitten to write down what he thought fitting. [a] The reason why these actions were so strictly looked into, was lest any not able to defend himself with his hands, should seek to revenge himself with stones, or other hurtfull weapon.

[y] Dem. *p.* 410. *vide* Ulp. *ib.* & *Arg. Orat. cont.* Everg. *p.* 637.
[z] *Sch.* Arist. *Conc. p.* 745.
[a] Dem. *cont.* Con. *p.* 690.

[b] Καλημερίας δ'. Somewhat near our proviso of giving the lye, lest by taunting and reproachfull words, men be provoked to blows. Βλάβης δ'. is when any man receives damage and hurt in estate by another man. [c] As to turn water into his ground, by which it is annoyed; [d] To refuse to pay money where it is required, or to give it to another; * To promise to bear witness in a suit, and then not be present, by which the case falls, and the like. Παρακαταθήκης δ'. About pawns, I suppose, which men that needed money were wont to leave with the Usurers; [f] as clothes, housholdstuff, *&c.* Or about money to put to the Bank, which the exchangers did employ to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of [g] *Demosthenes*. The word imports both. Ἀποστασίου δ'. Of Divorce. [h] For they were wont to put away their wives, in former time, upon discontent or hope of greater portions; which divorce they called ἀποπομπήν, and as *Lysias* ἀπέπεμψεν on the husband's side; and on the wife's ἀπολεῖ μὲν for he did as it were turn her away, she was said to forsake

[b] *Idem. ibid.*

[c] *Arg. Orat.* Dem. *contra* Calliclem.
[d] Dem. *contra* Callip. *p.* 680. *n.* 20.
* Dem. *cont.* Tim. *p.* 659. *n.* 25.
[f] *Sch.* Arist. 137. E.

[g] *Cont.* Phor. *p.* 555. *n.* 7, 8.
[h] V. Cujacium. *Obs. l.* 6. *c.* 15.

forſake him. Κακώσεως δ'. Of ill uſage of Parents, as not relieving them if they were poor: Of wives againſt husbands; of Pupils againſt Tutors. Κλοπῆς of theft, after what manner ſoever; which if it were by day was not capital, but by night was deadly. Χρέως δ'. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by [i] Law provided in *Athens* that none ſhould take too much Uſe, although once allowed by *Solon*, that any might make the beſt of his money: which he terms [k] τόκον ἀργύριον. Of Uſury I ſhall ſpeak more in the Chapter of money. Συμβολαίων δ'. When men had bargained and would not ſtand to it. [l] *Ariſtotle.* Δίκαι περὶ ἀλλήλους περὶ συμβολαίων.

[i] *This is reckoned among the Laws which were made for private men.* Ulp. *in* Dem. *p.* 481.

[k] *V.* Caſaub. *in* Theoph. *p.* 191. *Char.* περὶ Ἀποιαι.

[l] *Polit. l.* 2. *c.* 3.

Σωθήκης παραβάσεως δ'. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance between Man and Man, or between City and City, concerning free trading; as that of the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans. Ariſt. Pol.* 3. *c.* 6. or the like. [m] Theſe Συνθῆκαι were uſually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαδικασίας δ'. [n] a contention about bearing Office, in which they ſeek to have a time appointed, when a man ſhall enter into it. For the diſcharge whereof they are to prove him fit. Ἐπιδικασίας δ'. When Parents died and left their Daughters Inheritrices, the kindred were wont to ſue each other, to make it appear, who was neareſt joyned in bloud, that he might marry her. Hence a Virgin, to whom an inheritance falls, is called [o] ἐπίδικος, that is, *Controverſa.* Μισθώσεως οἴκου δ'. About letting of Houſes. (For *Herodotus* terms that ἐκδιδόναι, which other Greek writers μισθοῦσθαι, it is as well to ſet to hire, as to take to rent, ἐμισθῶν and ὑπομισθῶν, to let out: Which they often did for want of money; which that they might obtain the quicker, they wrote over their door as we uſe to do, **This Houſe is to be Let.** Which Cuſtome *Menedemus* in [p] *Terence* expreſſes — *Inſcripſi ilico,* ÆDES MERCEDE.) This Writ was properly againſt Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, ſuch as immediately is before ſpoken) who having the charge upon them of tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore

[m] Dem. *p.* 651. *n.* 13.

[n] Ulp. *in* Dem. *p.* 62. & 310.

[o] Pollux. *l.* 3. *c.* 3. *p.* 136.

[p] *Heaut. Act.* 1. *Sc.* 1.

make known to the *Archon* that such a house was to be let, he then put it out upon some pledge for security. But if the house were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was suffered to remain void of a Tenant, to the loss of the Pupil, then was it lawfull for any man to sue the Guardian in the *Archon*'s Court, upon a Writ of Μισθώσεως οἴκου. Ἐπιτροπῆς. I have observed it to have been a custome among the Ancients, when they perceived themselves to draw near to death, to call for some one, to whose care they would commit their Children, and delivering them into their hands, beseech them to have a tender eye over them, and to provide for them what should be most convenient; such as *Oedipus* in ᵍ *Sophocles* entreats of *Theseus* in behalf of his Daughters. —— Ὦ φίλον κάρα. Δός μοι χειρὸς σῆς πίστιν ἀρχαίαν τέκνοις, Ὑμεῖς τε παῖδες τῷδε κῆδεσίνεσον Μήπω παθόντε πᾶς δ' ἑκὼν, πλεῖν δ' ὅτ' ἂν Μένῃς φρονῶν ὦ, ξυμπέρασον τ' αὐτὰς ἀεί.

ᵍ Oedip. *Col.* p. 314.

Not unlike is that of the ʳ *Comedian* under the person of *Chrysis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

ʳ Ter. *Andr. Act.* 1. *Sc.* 5.

Accessi: vos semotæ: nos soli: incipit:
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atque ætatem vides:
Nec clam te est, quàm illi nunc utræque inutiles
Et ad pudicitiam, & tutandam ad rem sient.
Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingenium tuum,
Per tuam fidem, pérque hujus solitudinem
Te obtestor, ne abs te hanc segreges, neu deseras.
Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco,
Sive hæc te solum semper fecit maxumi,
Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.
Te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:
Bona nostra hæc tibi committo, & tuæ mando fidei.
Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, *mors continuò ipsam occupat.*

But among the *Athenians* the use was to nominate in their Testaments and last Wills, whom they would have to be Guardians. Which Office after they had undertaken, if they should defraud the Orphans of their patrimony, or any part thereof, they were sued with a Writ ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῆς, as † *Demosthenes* did sue his as soon as he came to age. But if the

† Plut. *in vita ejus.*

the matter were not queſtioned within five years after the Pupil was admitted among the number of men, by the [t] Law, the Guardian could not be taxed. Ἀποστασίου, of a Maſter againſt a Servant ingratefull for his manumiſſion, not doing his duty to his Maſter. Becauſe, as [v] *Demoſthenes* witneſſes, it was the nature of Servants once made free, not onely to be ingratefull, but alſo to hate their Maſters moſt of all men, as thoſe who had been conſcious to their ſervitude. It was enacted therefore that whoſoever was convicted of ingratitude ſhould again be made a bondſlave. [*] *Valerius Maximus. Age, quid illud inſtitutum Athenarum, quàm memorabile? quòd convictus à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur*; The Romans did not onely acquit them of the liberty of the City (which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them alſo ſlaves, which puniſhment they term [x] *Maximam capitis diminutionem.* Σίτου, if any man put away his Wife, he was to reſtore her portion again; if he refuſed, he was ἐπ' ἐνέα ὀβολοῖς τοκοφορεῖν, that is, every month for one pound to pay nine *oboli*, which the *Attick*s term [y] εἰσπράξεις προικὸς, *the Revenue of her dowry.* The Writ whereby he was ſued was Σίτου δίκη, for the repayment. [z] Ἔνοικις, if any went to Law, as claiming title of an houſe, he was firſt to ſerve him that dwelled in it with a Writ ἐνοικίου, by which he demands his Rent for the time the Defendant had the houſe: if it were for any parcel of land, there was a Writ καρποῦ given out, for the provent and fruit thereof; afterwards (in both caſes alike) they proceeded to an οἰκίας δίκη, in which they claimed right and title to the houſe or land. Although in all theſe trials the Defendant were caſt, yet could he keep juſtly either houſe or land: but if in a third trial, which they call ἐξούλης, he were overthrown, he was compelled to relinquiſh his poſſeſſion. This ἐξούλη alſo is a Writ againſt all thoſe that would caſt an inhabitant out of his houſe, it being termed from ἐξέλαυνειν, *to throw forth.* [a] It is alſo a Writ of Execution againſt any overthrown in the Court, and fined a thouſand Drachms, which at ſuch a day he was to pay, and if he laid it not down upon the nail, there went forth a Writ

[t] Demoſth. *p.* 724. *n.* 22.
[v] *Pag.* 465.
[*] *Lib.* 2. *c.* 1. *p.* 670.
[x] Juſtin. *Inſt. l.* 1. *T.* 16.
[y] Demoſth. *p.* 733.
[z] Dem. *p.* 655. *n.* 58.
[a] Ulpian *in* Dem. *p.* 340.

ἐξόλης, to make entry upon the lands and poſſeſſions of him ſo caſt. It is alſo a Writ againſt any who will not ſuffer him who hath bought any thing of the publick to reap the fruit thereof; who either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, *&c.* Εἰς δαλῆτ᾽ ἄφεσιν. When two had been partners in eſtates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refuſed, he might be conſtrained to it by the Writ. Βιαίων, Becauſe the Market-place among the *Greeks* was the fitteſt to cheat and coſen in, as [b] *Anacharſis* was wont to ſay, therefore the *Athenians* enacted that none ſhould buy in the Market-place; (to which the *Scythian* wiſe man pointed likewiſe; ſaying, that they forbad to ſpeak falſe, and yet did ἐν τῇ καπηλείᾳ ψεύδεσθαι) if any man bargained for any thing, and another ſued and doubted of the right of it, [c] he might require the ſeller to confirm the lawfulneſs of the thing ſold, and maintain it againſt all controverſie, otherwiſe the ſeller was liable to Βιαίων δίκη. For although in *Athens* they bought for the moſt part *Græcâ fide*, with ready money; as [d] *Scaliger*, and * *Caſaubon* truly interpret it, [f] *Turnebus*, *Repreſentatâ pecuniâ*: yet ſometime gave they **Earneſt** onely to make the thing ſure, which the Greeks and Latins call [g] ἀρῤῥαβῶν, from the [h] *Hebrew* ערב. This ſeems to me to have been the hundredth part of the money which was to be paid for the thing bought, as [i] *Stobæus* out of *Theophraſtus*. Where you may reade likewiſe that it was the cuſtome, when any thing was to be ſold, to bring a note thereof to the Magiſtrate ſome threeſcore days before. Εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάσιαν, For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a ſuit in Law; by [k] *Pollux* his words I may conjecture, goods or money privily taken away. Ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη. When any ſhould offer to take another man's ſervant, and make him free againſt the will of the Maſter, which the Greeks term [l] μὴ δικαίως ἐλευθερίαν ἀφελέσθαι.

Ἀμφισβήτησις is a ſuit about nearneſs of bloud, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without iſſue of his own body. Παρακλῆρος. When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as near of bloud; or upon

[b] *Apud* Laert. p. 74.

[c] Pollux. *l.* 8. *c.* 6. *p.* 385.

[d] *In* Auſon. *Lect. l.* 2. *c.* 6.
* *In* Theoph. *Char. p.* 312.
[f] *Adverſariorum l.* 4. *c.* 13.
[g] Don. *quod prius datur, ut reliquum reddatur. in* Ter. *Heaut. Act.* 3. *Sc.* 3.
[h] *Vide* Daſqua *in* Baſil. Sel.
[i] *Sermone* 42.
[k] *Onomaſt. l.* 8. *c.* 6. *p.* 384.

[l] Demoſth. *p.* 718. *n.* 29.

upon ſome other conditions: from παραλαβεῖν, becauſe he laid down the tenth part of the inheritance; which if he were caſt in Law, he was to pay, if the cauſe were private, ſays [m] *Budæus*: but if publick, the fifth. [n] Διαμαρτυρία. When any ſhall proteſt that an inheritance doth hang in controverſie, and is ἐπίδικος, as a true heir being ſtill alive: of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Leochares*. Ἐπισκήψις. When any ſhall try to falſifie the διαμαρτυρία. Ἀντιγραφή. When men went to Law about kindred, as to prove themſelves of ſuch and ſuch houſes.

Ἀπροστάτου δ'. All ſtrangers in *Athens* were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my moſt worthy Schoolmaſter, the glory of his time, [o] Mr. *Matthew Buſt*, hath obſerved, whom for honour's ſake I name) or elſe they might be queſtioned, and if they were convicted their goods were ſold and put into the City Treaſury. Ἀχαριστία, *of ingratitude*, againſt thoſe who ſhewed not themſelves thankfull to thoſe who had well deſerved of them. Ξενία, the ſame with ἀπροστάτου, when any will reckon himſelf among the number of Citizens who never had been made free, by which he purchaſed impriſonment, untill ſuch time as there was a Court kept, and then he was ſold. Μαρτυρία, when a man is eye-witneſs of a matter. Παραμαρτυρία, when another witneſſes from the report of him that ſaw it. Ψευδομαρτύριον, *falſe witneſs*, which to proſecute in Law they term ἐπισκήψασθαι ψευδομαρτυρίου. Λειποματρτύριον, when one was eye-witneſs, and promiſed to teſtifie, yet would not appear at the appointed time, which they were wont to compell them to doe, which they call καλεῖσθαι, after which citation the party was to be at Court, or forſwear that he ſaw not the matter, or was not preſent; otherwiſe he was to pay a thouſand drachms, in which ſum to be fined the *Attick* Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκαλεῖσθαι Δώρων χρηθῆ, When the Judges were corrupted with Bribes. Δεκασμοῦ, againſt thoſe that did corrupt them. Ἀργίας, of a man convinced of idleneſs; which once taken, *Draco* puniſhed the delinquent with loſs of the City privileges: *Solon*, not unleſs he were thrice

[m] *Pand. Prin.* p. 100.
[n] Dem. p. 620. n. 78. *Here followeth the terms promiſcuous, private and publick, which are publick and lawfull for any to proſecute. See* Pollux. p. 386.
[o] *In Epiſt. Dedic. ſuo Euchiatenſi præfixa ad* Richar. *Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum.*

thrice delinquent. Λειποναυτίου, When any of the Mariners ran away from their Ships. Ἀναυμαχία, When the Mariners that ſtayed in the Ships would not fight, if occaſion required. Ψευδεγχαρίας, when any would falſely accuſe; there was likewiſe againſt them a Writ ὀφλοκλήτους. Ψευδοκλητείας, Againſt thoſe that unjuſtly cite to the Court. Δωροξενίας, when any is accuſed of encroaching into the number of Citizens, and gives gifts to eſcape free. Παρανόμων, when any was accuſed of making a Decree or Law contrary to former Statutes. This accuſation was called ἐπωμοσία, becauſe the accuſer ſwore that it was againſt the Laws, or unjuſt, or inconvenient for the Commonwealth. Δοκιμασία, was an examination of the Magiſtrates whether they were fit to govern or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Luſt and Incontinency; whether they had not ſpent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their Parents, or led a life any otherways blameable; whereupon they were diſcarded the privileges of the City, and not ſuffered to plead, or ſpeak publickly. Εὐθύνη, an account of publick Offices born, laying out of money, and diſpatching Ambaſſages, made to the Ten *Logiſtæ*, (For the breach of which went out a Writ, Ἀλογίου λόγον δοῦναι, *Rationem reddere*) if concerning injuries given to the Judges. Εἰσαγγελία, an accuſation againſt thoſe who are ill-affected toward the Commonwealth, made by the decree of the people, and ſuch as are well-willers to the State. Περίοδοι likewiſe are accuſations againſt men injurious, ἐξωβρίσταις, [p] and ſuch as are delinquent againſt their Feſtivals; as the Oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Midias*. Προωμοσία, an Oath which the Accuſer took, that he would juſtly accuſe. [q] Ἀντωμοσία, the Defendant's Oath, that he had done no wrong. Ἐξωμοσία, an Oath of Ambaſſadours or men choſen for ſtate ſervice, that by reaſon of ſickneſs they cannot give attendance. They may doe it by a proxy, if they pleaſe. It is likewiſe the Oath of one called to witneſs, wherein he ſwears that he knows nothing of the buſineſs. Ἀπωμοσία, when others ſhall ſwear that pretended weakneſs was onely a ſhift to put off the burthen of publick Office which the State laid on them.

Ὑπωμοσία,

[p] *Lib. Arg. in* Midiam.

[q] Ulpian. *in* Dem. 226.

Ὑπωμοσία, an accuſation of a Law or Decree unprofitable, againſt the motioner, as aboveſaid. Παραγραφὴ and παραγρ-αφεία, when a man ſhall object a caſe not to be entred rightly, that the Writ ought to be ſuch and ſuch, and not as it is, *ex. gr.* for a man that runs away from the Army, which is λειποτραξία, and I accuſe him of leaving his rank, to wit, λειποταξίου, or objection of the time paſt, within which ſpace the ſuit was to be commenced; or that it ſhould be handled in ſuch a Court, and not in ſuch; as wilfull Murther in *Areopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evaſion if the caſe fell, it was termed ἄγραφος. Ἀντιγραφὴ, when he that is ſued puts in a Bill againſt the Plaintiff in like manner. But if the Defendant (I call ἀντιδίκαστον ſo) were caſt, he paid ἐπωβελίαν. [r] Μὴ ἔσπα, when a man is ſummoned to anſwer before the *Arbitri* a controverſie, if he ſwear that he is ſick, or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was caſt in ἐρήμῃ, *Eremodicio*, as if he ſcorned to come, or were obſtinate: he ought within ten days to ſue out μὴ ἔσαν, wherein he reproved the ſentence and made it of no effect, ſo as it came to its firſt ſtate again. But if he could not obtain a μὴ ἔσπα, having before ſworn that he would ſtand to the award of the Judges, their determination ſtood in full ſtrength and power, and he was conſtrained to pay a thouſand Drachms (as † *Ulpian*) which was the mulct appointed by the Law; for the diſcharge whereof he put in good ſecurity. Ἀνθιλαγχάνειν δίκῃ, when any was abſent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to anſwer thereunto, he was fined, as conſcious of *Eremodicium*; and if within the ſpace of two months he did not renew the ſuit (which is ἀνθιλαγχάνειν δίκῃ) he was ſure to pay the fine. Ἐνεπισκήψασθαι, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, and publickly ſold, ſomewhat as debt to him, or ſay that part belongs to him, the ſtate would narrowly ſearch into it; which thing they term ἐνεπισκημα. Πρόσκλησις, is a citing of one before the *Archon* in controverſie about inheritance, or a Virgin left inheritrix. Now if the Plaintiff did not warn the Defendant ἐν ὀπτῇ δικασμοῦ, the ſuit died; and ſuch actions are called

[r] Ulpian. *in* Dem. 343.

† *In* Dem. p. 340.

called ἀποξυλήσει δίκη. [t] Πρόκλησις, is a letting a caſe fall, or diſſolving it upon ſome witneſs, oath or confeſſion extorted by torments, and the like. Ἔφεσις, is an appeal from one Court to the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate again, or from their Judicatories at home to ſome foreigners in another Countrey. Ἀτιμητὸς δίκη, when there is no more fine laid upon a man than what his adverſary did ὀπογράφειν, write down at the lower end of his Indictment, of which cuſtome ſomewhat hath before been ſpoken. Βολίτης δίκη, againſt ſuch as ſtole Ox-dung out of their neighbours Lands; whence, of thoſe that are put in the Court for trivial matters, the Proverb, [v] Βολίτης δίκαιος. Ἀσεβείας, of impiety againſt their Gods, as *Ariſtotle* for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharnenſes*, which he engraved on a Statue at *Delphos*. For revealing myſteries, or imitating them, as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death, as on the contrary the accuſer, if he got not the better. Προδοσίας, of being falſe to the ſtate, the puniſhment was death; and after that, they ſhould be caſt out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. [*] Ἀγραφίου, if any owed to the City Treaſury, and his name were regiſtred, and before the diſcharge of the money his name were blotted out, they ſued him before the *Theſmotheta* ἀγραφίου, but if his name was never entred, he was proſecuted by an ἐνδείξις. Μεταλλικαὶ proper onely to ſuch as dealt in the Mines, like to the Stannaries in the County of *Cornwall* my Countrey, and *Devonſhire* her ſiſter. [x] Liable to this Court were they who ſhould thruſt any man from his work; who ſhould dig within another man's liberties; who ſhould bring weapons thither, I ſuppoſe to take away Minerals by violence; who ſhould kindle any fire in the Mines, *&c.* Who ſhould offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth; which to doe was death, as [y] *Plutarch* tells us. There was likewiſe ἀγεφύρου μεταλλικοῦ againſt the Labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new work, were to acquaint the Overſeers appointed for that end by the people, that the four and twentieth part of the new Coin

[t] Dem. *p.* 623.

[v] Ariſt. *Sch. p.* 328. Laert. *in vit.*

[*] Dem. *cont.* Theocr. *p.* 723. *n.* 76, 77.

[x] Dem. *cont.* Pantæ. *p.* 568. *n.* 51, 52.

[y] *In vitis Decem Rhet.* 453.

Coin might come to the publick Treasury. Now if any presumed to work who had not made it known to the Officers, it was lawfull for any to accuse him ἀγχάφου μεταλλου. Ἀτοσμὴς δ'. About money put out to the money-changers.

[z] For ἀτοσμὴ among the *Attick*s is the same that ἐνδεὴκη in the Lawyers of latter time, *in Jure Græc. Rom.* Sometimes indeed they used ἀφορμὴ for means, and sustenance [a] σεργολὴ εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Καταδικάστης and καταδικαστάλου have this difference, that [b] καταδικάστης is the Judge that gives sentence, καταδικαστάλου is he that put in the controversie, to be the means that the sentence past against the Defendant. [c] Ἄπορος is when a man deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to discharge all; and therefore desires the People that a part thereof might be remitted.

[z] *Argum.* Phorm. *Orat. p.* 554.

[a] *Sch.* Eurip. Med. *p.* 368.

[b] Ulpian. *in* Med. *p.* 368.

[c] *Idem in* Dem. *p.* 450.

LIBER QUARTUS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus, & Amoris.

CAP. I.

De Venere & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens* had their habitation too near the Sea, to keep their affections far from her that rose of the *Foam.* For that they were devoted to the service of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein she was courted, and the over favourable name of Ἑταίρα, will sufficiently testifie. One of those Temples was for *Venus* Οὐρανία [a] *(si diis placet)* a name better becoming one of the Muses, [b] or the play with the ball, than her: and the other, for *Venus* Πάνδημος, which two names put me in mind of

[a] Pausanias.

[b] Οὐρανία, *a Play so called.*

an excellent saying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning Καλὸν ἱερεῖον, and Καλὸν πάνδημον. Δύο γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω καὶ ἀνθρώπους κάλλη πλανᾶσθαι, Τὸ μὲν ἱερεῖον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον, ὥσπερ τῆ κάλλει αἱ χρηγορὶ δραί. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἱερεῖον ἀχθεῖαι τῷ ξυνῆ κάλλει δεδεμένον, καὶ ζητεῖ πρὸς ὑφαντὸν ταχὺ φάγειν. Τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ἔρριπται κάπο, καὶ ἐγχρονίζει τοῖς σώμασι. A saying good enough for a Christian, and a Bishop such as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But *à diverticulo.* The sacrifices of the first Temple, were Ἁγνότερα, with a little more state and chastity than became her; but those of the last, Παυσιρότερα, as *easie*, and as wicked as her self: For every farthing Strumpet, might by *Solon*'s own appointment prostitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the Κεραμεικὸς, [c] or the Σωρὸν (those Καπηλεῖα Ἀφροδίσια) or any other of the places abused to lust. Nay those *sinks*, ([d] besides *places* for the purpose) had *garments* also for the purpose, and flowers on the garments too, Τὰ Ἀνθινὰ, *floridas vestes*, apparel fit for such *Flora*'s as wore them. The Rites of her service the *Athenians* are said to have received from the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Assyrians*; *Fides penes Authorem sit.* The fashion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians* (*viz.*) with a head, and all like a man as far down as the girdle, and all the rest like a woman (to shew she had a place in the [f] *Ditches* too as well as in the *Sinks*, and patroniz'd lust to either of the Sexes) insomuch that many have been scrupulous whether they should call her *Deum* or *Deam*; for there is one that says,

[c] Pausanias.

[d] *Cloacæ.*

* Cœl. Rhod.

[f] *Inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinædos.* Juven. *Sat.* 2.

—— Pollentémque Deum Venerem,

Which *Macrobius* himself commends for the best, and therefore in *Virgil*, *Æn.* 2. *v.* 632. reads,

Discedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hostes
Expedior ——

and not *Dea*, and so *Aristophanes* calls her Ἀφρόδιτον, in the *masculine gender*. But, now this makes more work, and therefore (to plaster two walls with one pot full of plastering) they made it a custome, *Ei sacrificium* * *facere viros cum veste muliebri, mulieres cum virili; Quod eadem & mas, & fœmina æstimaretur: For the men to sacrifice to her in womens apparel,*

* Philochorus, *cited by* Macrobius.

apparel, and women in mens. If it be ſo, you may ſay *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you pleaſe. I reade of no ſuch thing concerning *Minerva:* onely the [g] Poet (becauſe ſhe was ſuch a *Virago*) honours the Manhood of the Goddeſs with a τὴ θεὸν, as *Theocritus* [h] does *Hecate*, with ὁ θεὸς ἐν τειόδοισι, an *appellative* of the *maſculine gender*. Nor is it enough that the Mother is thus religiouſly wooed and adored, but the *blind paultry Boy* will be crying for a Temple too. And if *Her* due be a *Cow*, certainly *His* cannot be leſs than a *Calf*; neither was it,

[g] Ariſtoph. *Act.* 5. *ſc.* 2.

[h] *In φαρμακ.* *ſ.* 5.

Ῥέζω πρὸς τὸν Ἔρωτα καὶ αὐτῇ βοῦν Ἀφροδίτῃ,

ſays *Theocritus:* and *Amori Litari*, to ſacrifice to *Amor* or *Cupid*, is common in *Apuleius*. Methinks he might have been content to ſit ſtill in his Mother's Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zeuxes*, and crowned with flowers) and have ſoard * with his wings no higher. But the Temple of Ἔρως and Ἀνλέρως in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of Φιλόρωμος, do more than whiſper what cauſe he had to be ſo proud, and how amorous his People have been.

* *Alatus.*

CAP. II.

De Paderaſtia.

TO omit the Τειχίδας, and Abominations of the Women one with another, changing τὴ φυσικὴν [a] χρῆσιν, εἰς τὴ παρὰ φύσιν, *the natural uſe into that which is againſt nature*, give me leave to ſpeak a little of their παιδερασταὶ, or παιδόμοι, and the Ἀρρενομανία, [b] practiſed by Men upon their own Sex. The firſt that ever taught

[a] *Ep. ad Rom. c.* 1. *v.* 26.

[b] *Ib. v.* 27.

——*Amorem*
In teneros transferre mares——

(if we may believe *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholar of his the *Roman* was, *Lippis & Tonſoribus notum*. And for the *Greeks*, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Perſians* deriv'd the infection from them; which I am apt enough

to believe, when I reade those words of *Cornelius* [c] *Nepos*, *Laudi in Gracia ducitur adolescentulis, quàm plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place; and those concerning *Alcibiades* in another, *Ineunte adolescentiâ amatus est à multis more Græcorum*; not to tell you how he himself afterwards was more than *Pathicus* in that *double-Cappa-roguery*, as well as [d] *Pausanias*, or [*] *Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* [f] *Sectaries*. The *Grecians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Aristotle* say true, made a Law for toleration of it. The [g] *Megarenses* had their *Kissing-matches*, when he that could kiss sweetest was led away in pomp *Corollis onustus*; onely thus much is said in commendation of the *Lacedemonians* and the *Athenians*, that they confined the Lust to the person of a slave. Nay [h] *Ælian* (who makes bold to vary from other Authours in several relations) goes farther, and says Σπαρτιάτης δὲ ἔρως Αἰγὶν ἐκ οἶδεν, but how true that is, I know not: I am sure their τὰ παιδικὰ and οἱ Παιδικοὶ ὕμνοι, tell in *plain song*, what they loved: though I confess I have found no such feats among them, as that of [i] *Achilles* in Murthering *Troïlus* for refusing to submit to his lust. One word more and I have done. He that was inspired with such a love as this, (as if they had used the trick of [k] *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedemonians*, had the name of εἰσπνηλᾶς, or ἐισπνηλᾶς, or rather εἰσπνήλης, as *Callimachus* hath it,

Μέμβλεο δ' εἰσπνήλης ὀππότε κῆρᾶι ἴοι.

By which word (saith the *Etymological Dictionary*) is denoted ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς ἔρωτος (or rather ἐρῶντος) εἰσπνεόμενος, one *inspired*, shall I say, or *beloved*, for so signifieth the word at *Sparta (viz)* to love a boy so *perditè*, as to *blow in his lower end*, (as we say) to *spit in his mouth*, or give him *Mansum ex ore*, take the Authour's own words for't in the place above quoted. Αὐτοὶ γὰρ λέγονται τὴν ἐρασθῶν εἰσπνεῖν αὐτοῖς. Λακεδαιμονίων δέ ἐστιν ἡ φωνὴ ἐρᾶν δεῖν λέγουσα, and so *Hesychius* says of ἐμπεῖν too; ἐμπείμεν, ἐρᾶμεν, ποθεῖμεν. This was all (as he says) or (as I say) it ought to have been all; for a man *may love his house well enough, though he do not ride upon the ridge.* However, I must confess they had so much care still of the *Commonwealth*, notwithstanding their *private pleasures*, as not to

[c] *Initio lib. de Excel. Imp.*
[d] Æmil. Prob.
[*] Plato *in Symp.*
[f] *Socratici κίναιδοι.*
[g] Athenæus.
[h] *L. 3. Var. Hist. c. 12.*
[i] Lycoph.
[k] *Inque vices fuerat captatus anhelitus oris.*

to give a voice to one whom they knew to be guilty of ſo much *Mollities*, as to *ſcratch his head with one finger*. Inſomuch that if any had ſued for an Office to give a teſtimony of his *virtue* and manlike diſpoſition, he was fain to lift up his Arms, and ſhew his hair in his Arm-pits.

——— Χειρολογησέον.

Ἐξωμισάτως ἢ ἕτερον βραχίονα, ſays *Ariſtophanes*.

And good reaſon for this practice, for, as [l] *Juvenal*,

[l] *Sat.* 2.

——— *Duræ per brachia ſetæ*
Promittunt atrocem animum ———

therefore the Woman [m] that deſired to be taken for a Man, thought this the beſt Argument ſhe could uſe,

[m] *Apud* Ariſtop.

——πρῶτον μὲν γ' ἔχω τὰς μασχάλας
Λοχμῆς δασυτέρας.

Whereas on the contrary, thoſe that had the fore-head to *ſeem*, as they *were*, effeminate, uſed the ſame tricks which the *Romans* are ſaid to have uſed (for which ſervice they had their ἀρωπακισταὶ, or *alipilarios*) to pull away their hair, and be as ſmooth as they could.

But I have ſaid too much of ſo odious a Love *as ſhould not indeed be named among us*. I will now proceed to ſpeak of a chaſter *Venus* (notwithſtanding that *Menelaus* in [n] *Achilles* preferred the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis ſexuum diverſitatem generato amore ſociavit*, as [o] *Apuleius* ſaid in his Prayer.

[n] *Achil. Tat. lib.* 2.

[o] *Metam. l.* 11.

CAP. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

WHen firſt they liſted themſelves into the ſervice, (for *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) ſome of them made it a ſolemn buſineſs, as to be formally initiated like ſo many Prieſts.

Ἂν γὰρ ἡμᾶς Ἀφροδίτη μυσταγωγήσῃ, ſays [a] *Clitophon* to *Leucippe*,

[a] Achil. *l.* 2.

Ἐπὶ σῇ βίζλῳ καλεμαήνην ἢ ἔρωτα, ſays [b] *Iſmenius* to his Miſtreſs, alluding (it may be) to ſuch Books as the old fellow brought

[b] Euſtath. *l.* 5.

brought forth to *Apuleius*, [c] *Literis ignorabilibus prænotatos.*

Well, it ſeems *Venus* had her [d] μυσήρια too, as well as *Ceres*, for her Prieſts, though they were not under an enjoyned ſilence, as the others were, yet the greateſt part of their tattling was *under the Roſe.*

* *Conſcius omnis abeſt, Nutu ſigniſque loquuntur.*

And therefore *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whiſperer*, ψίθυρος, for nothing; ſeeing ſpeaking through the teeth, and *whiſpering* through the walls, like *Pyramus* [f] and *Thisbe*, was ſo commonly uſed by his followers. Such as that ὑπόψογος βοὴ in *Euripides*, *Succrotilla vocula, Fœminea fabulare* [g] *ſuccrotillâ voculâ*, ſays one. Παραλιθαυκὴ τὸ πιπτεῖον χαλεροῖς ὑπορθύειος, [h] ſays another, of *Iſmene*. And not onely their words, but every thing they did was by ſtealth, for what were all their pleaſures but *furta?* What is *Cupid* but a [i] *Thief?* No wonder then if Lovers uſed to worſhip the Moon; and the Night be the blind Boy's Holiday. [k] Κλεπτῶν γὰρ ἡ Νὺξ, ſays one (like that of the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, Δεῖ γὰρ κλεπτομβρότοις ἔρωσι σιγῆς, ἡ νυκτὸς) for the greateſt part of their employments were not able to look upon the Sun. Yet *Pindar*, as I take it, ſays the cuſtome was, for the Man to worſhip the Sun, and the Woman the Moon. It may be the Man's aim [l] was to have the Sun's help in bringing Adulteries, and the Woman's the Moon's, in bringing her [m] Children to light.

Beſides theſe, Θεὸς ὁ Πᾶν ἐρωτικός. [n] *Pan* had his worſhip too. But for any thing I can perceive (though ſome of them, it may be, were of *Theocritus* his mind,

——Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς εἶδε δικάζειν)

whatſoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and looſeneſs in ſuch buſineſſes to *ſwear* and *forſwear*, as faſt as they liſted, whiles *Jupiter* ſtood by and laught

——*Perjuria ridet amantûm.*

inſomuch that Ἀφροδίσιος Ὅρκος, *a Love Oath*, became but a Proverb at laſt; as being accounted οὐκ ἐμπίνιμος, *not deſerving puniſhment*, if it were taken: nay, if *Plato* (in *Ephebo*) ſay truth, Ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς περὶ τὰ Ἀφροδίσια, καὶ τὸ ἐπορκεῖν

[c] *Loco ante laudato.*
[d] *Hieroglyphicis.*
* Ovid. *Met. lib. 4. Fab. 4.*
[f] *Loco cit.*
[g] Titinius.
[h] Euſtath.
[i] Theocritus *ſays he ſtole honeycombs. Id.* 19.
[k] Eurip.
[l] *Venerem cum Marte deprehendit.* Ovid. *Met. lib. 4. Fab. 6.*
[m] *Luna parturientibus adeſt.*
[n] Longus *in Paſtoral. l. 2.*

κεῖν συγγώμην εἶληφε παρὰ θεῶν, the Gods gave them leave: as having done *hæc eadem juvenes, the ſame themſelves once: And none can play the* ° *Knave better than an Abbat that hath been a Monk.*

° *French Proverb.*

CAP. IV.

De Amoris Judiciis.

NOW to know whether ſuch an one were in Love or not (though they ſay, *Love and the Cough can never be hid)* at the keeping of a Feaſt, they took ſpecial notice of the *untying of his Garland* (as we uſe to do of the Garter) making it a forerunner of that of the *Zona.* But I take too much upon me to determine ſo ſoon of the reaſon, for [a] *Athenæus* ſays it hath been a riddle a thouſand years before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings; διὰ τὶ τῶν στεφανωθέντων ἐὰν λύσῃ τὶς στέφανον, ἐκὼν λέγεται, and he himſelf hath ſerved up no leſs than eight other reaſons, but I know never a one better than another to give you a taſte. Another ſign that they were in love was the *tinkling of the Ear,* whence that of *Sappho,* βομβεῦσι δ' ἀκοαί μου, and *Catullus,*

[a] *Lib.* 15. *Deipnoſ.*

——— *Sonitu ſuopte*
Tintinant aures. ———

To know whether the party lov'd did love again, they took a leaf (whether of *Popy,* or what it was I know not) they called it πλέθιλον *quaſi* πλεθιλον ὅτι ἓν δινοῦται ἐν τιλίαν) and putting it on the forefinger, and the thumb of the left hand (as our Children uſe to do with us) ſtruck it with the right: If it gave a crack they rejoyced, if not a ſigh; out alas! as *Theocritus Idyll.* 3.

Οὐδὲ τὸ Πλεθιλον πότε μαντόμβριον πλατάξησιν.

[b] So at their Feaſts they had a trick, to faſten a long ſtick in the ground with another upon it (in the faſhion of the croſs Beam of a Balance) with a pair of Scales hanging to it. Under the Scales ſtood a couple of Bowls filled with water, and under the water a ſtatue of Braſs, gilded and called

[b] Ariſtoph. *Sch. in Pace.*

[n] *Id. in Avibus.* called by the name of Μάννης ([n] once the name of a Servant) now the manner was for such as were in Love (with the same woman as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who should carry it, to take each his phial of Brass (ἡ κόπαδον) to stand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he listed, with a sudden turn of the hand (ἀναλύω they call it, and thence Κόπαδοι ἀναλύσεις) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown, they called κλαγγάω from κλαγξ, the *klat* or the sound that it gave in the fall: Now he that could doe this so well, as to make his scale sink, and strike the image hardest on the head (εἰ μὴ χυθὴ τὸ οἶνος, so that some of the Wine leapt out upon him, saith the Scholiast,) presumed presently upon the love of his Mistress, and had his Κόπαδιον or his Cake (the usual reward of Victory in most of their Plays) for his labour; sometimes they flung the liquour on the bare ground, and if it gave a good flash, it was counted as lucky, for a Lover, as the *crack of the leaf.* Thus to drink and play, they called Κοπαδίζειν (as Κόπαδος was the name of the Cup and the Play too) and seldom a drinking match without it.

Ἐστᾶδαι Κοπαδίζειν
Συβαΐζειν
Ἰὲ ἰὲ κεκραγέναι.

saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* Gambol they are ashamed to own themselves, and therefore turn'd it off upon the people of *Sicily.* I might speak more of Κόπαδος, were it either fitter for the present discourse, or not spoken of so largely, and by so many, as *Athenæus, Rhodiginus,* and others already. Let it suffice onely to have minded you of the folly so usual among Lovers in those times, according to that of *Callimachus,*

Πολλοὶ μὲν φιλέοντες, ἀκόντιον ἦκεν ἔρωτος
Οἰνοπότην Σικελὰς οὐκ κυλίκων λάπαγας.

CAP.

CAP. V.

De Philtris & Incantamentis.

BUT what if ſhe could not be wooed over by fair means? was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a jugling trick to bewitch her? Yes, but firſt they muſt get ſomething or other of hers into their poſſeſſion, and work upon that, according to the Nurſes advice to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolytus.*

[a] Δεῖ δ' ἐξ ἐκείνης δή τι προθυμίας
Σημεῖον, ἢ λόγον τιν' ἢ πέπλων ἄπο-
Λαβεῖν σωιάλλαγ' ἢ δυοῖν μίαν χρέαν.

[a] Euripides Hipp. v. 512.

And if they could come to the ſight of her, your *illices oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a faſcination, ὀφθαλμόν τινα βάσκανον ἀνεπαιτεῖτο, he threw a *ſheeps eye at her* (ſaith [b] *Heliodorus.*) The Proverb that *Love comes in at the window, and goes out at the door*, may not abſurdly be underſtood of the *Eyes*, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls θύρας τῆς ψυχῆς, *the Doors of the Soul*, which ſeem to be the way; and the paſſage by which the two loves go in and out.

[b] *Lib.* 4.

Ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδὸς ἔρωτι———

ſaith *Muſæus*: or if you will, the eyes of either party are a torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the *heart.* Ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνάπτει τὸ ἔρωτα, ſaith [c] *Euſtathius*; and ſo [d] *Lucian* makes the *ſight* the firſt ſtep * in *Cupid's* ladder of Love. To try therefore what this *Card* could doe, they would go to the houſe where ſhe lived, and the faſhion being for the Daughter οἰνοχοεῖν to fill drink to the Stranger; (as *Soſthenes* commanded his Daughter to doe to *Iſmenias*) after the old folk had drunk, when it came to their Miſtreſſes to drink to them, they obſerved at what part of the cup ſhe drank, to be ſure to drink at the ſame, according to that of the [f] Poet,

[c] *Lib.* 3.
[d] *In Ἔρωσι.*
* *Oculi ſunt in amore duces.*

Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis
Pocula; quaque bibit parte Puella, bibe.

[f] Ovid. *de Arte Am. l.* 1.

Forſooth they thought thus to have a kiſs *mediate* at the ſecond hand wafted over in the cup; καλαπίνειν τὸ φίλημα, *Ariſtinetus* calls it, not to *kiſs the cup*, but *cup the kiſs*.

Nam tranſmiſſa tuis ad me fert ſuavia labris
Ille Călix.

Saith *Scaliger* tranſlating that verſe,

Πορθμεύει γὰρ ἐμοί γε κύλιξ παρὰ σεῦ τὸ φίλημα.

Such a kiſs they uſed to call ἀποστολιμαῖον φίλημα *(miſſivum oſculum)* or a kiſs conveighed in a Cup, like words in a Letter) as both *Achilles* and *Euſtathius* do. And by this time they have ſeen whether they can doe any thing or nothing by the *eye*. Next they will try what they can doe with the Tongue, by *enchanting ſongs and tales*: or by the Hand, with *Gifts*, and *Philtres*; Ὅτι ἄνευ πολλῶν φίλτρων τε καὶ ἀπορρήτων, καὶ ἰύγγων, ſays *Xenophon*: Ἰυγξ more eſpecially is the name of a Bird (whether it be *torquilla*, or *regulus*, or *paſſerculus*; the laſt is moſt likely becauſe of its ſalacity) whoſe tongue they made uſe of to ſuch purpoſes, putting it under the Knap of her Ring with the paring of her Nails.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for ſuch a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Echo* ſays *Callimachus)* becauſe ſhe bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the ſame name, and of a making very ſuitable to her former condition, and the uſes for which ſhe ſerves. For (according to the Scholiaſt upon *Lycophron)* it is a Bird with a long neck and tongue, continually wagging both the head and the tail; and puniſhed ſhe is enough for her Roguery; for (beſides that way I told you of before) ſometimes they ty'd her ἐπὶ πνὸς ἔγχει to a wheel (as I think) and chanted a charm as they whirld it round. Sometimes (at leaſt the entrails) to a ἔγχος of wax, cauſing both together to conſume in the fire. But what will you ſay, if all this while it be nothing but an Inſtrument pleaſantly tun'd and play'd? as ſome ſay it is, and that it is therefore commonly uſed for any pleaſant thing or inticement. Ἰυγγι ἕλκουαι ἤπορ. ſays [8] *Pindar*, or any other Magical Love toy, ſuch as *Ungues*, muſcles, wreathed fillets, hair, and bands of twiſted wool,

[8] *Nem. Od.* 4. *vid.* Theoc. *Pharmaceu. Luſtrate prope finem.*

wool, and divers other gambols of the ſame bran according to that which I have ſeen of *Lælius* an ancient Poet.

Trochiſcili, Ungues, taniæ
Aureæ, Illices bitortilæ.

With no ſtronger chains than thoſe of *twiſted Wool* ([h] πλεκτὸν ἔριον [i] *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturn* reported to have been bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him down. I can rather believe that all the Gods had *laneos pedes*, *woollen feet*, as the Proverb ſays they had, than that any of them ſhould have *laneas pedicas*, *woollen fetters*. And yet that dull and lazy old dotard, could be content to lie faſt in thoſe bands all the year long, till the Month *December*, when he had his liberty, becauſe of the *Saturnalia*, which *Papinius* therefore calls *Saturni compedem exolutum*: I refer you for the reaſon to *Macrobius Saturn.* 1. *c.* 8. Though I believe they intended no other than a Magical tie upon the affection of the party. Yet they ſeem to have made uſe of *Wool*, rather than any other thing, becauſe it was ſo much in faſhion in ſuch kind of matters; for firſt, the girdle the woman uſed to wear, was made of *Wool*, twiſted and tied with an *Hercules*, or a *True-Lovers* knot, not to be untied but in the *Genial-bed*. Then the doors of the Bride-houſe, and the poſts of the doors, were bound about with woollen fillettings, and the Wife was to ſit upon a fleece for a Cuſhion. Yet how they uſed this πλεκτὸν ἔριον I cannot tell; whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that,

[k] Σπεῖσαι τὰν κελέβαν φοινικέῳ οἷὸς ἀώτῳ.

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in ſome other way. But thus much I have obſerved of their ordinary practices in ſuch Rogueries (too common with the women in theſe times) that whatever was done to the things which they uſed, they imprecated the ſame, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to repreſent. Thus [l] *Althæa* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *Juno* tied up [m] *Alcmena*'s womb,

Digitis inter ſe pectine junctis.

I know not how. Thus [n] *Simetha* (to come nearer home) angry with *Delphis* for want of his love, would have ſcattered

[h] *Not* σκεπτὸν. [i] Περὶ πολαμ.

[k] Theocrit. *Pharmaceu.*

[l] Ovid. *Met. lib.* 8. *fab.* 4.

[m] Ovid. *Met. lib.* 9. *fab.* 5.

[n] Theocrit. *Pharmaceu.*

tered his bones in the meal; burnt his fleſh in the Bay, melted him away in the Wax, or have had him tumble to her door in the Brazen Bowl, and have killed him with kindneſs. Every one of which practices was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moon* for ſucceſs, as things that were fit to be done neither by *day*, nor *above ground*. Infinite more were the tricks they uſed to make a man to love

° *Lib.* 8. *E.* 68. them, ſuch as ° *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks of in his *Epiſtles*, Τὸ ὃ φυκίον, καὶ ὁ κηρὸς, καὶ τὸ ταραντῖνον, καὶ αἱ ὀπικάρπιοι ὄφεις, καὶ αἱ χρυσαῖ πέδαι, καὶ Θαλῶ, καὶ Λαλῶ φάρμακα. The κηρὸς may be thought to be the *Ceruſſa*, Τὸ ταραντῖνον, otherwiſe ταραντῖνον, or ταραντινίδιον, *Multicia*, or *Bombycia*, a kind

P Pollux. of P διαπανὲς ἔνδυμα, or a garment that hid the body ſo that

9 *Lib.* 8. *Ep.* 6. it might be ſeen, *lucet ſic per Bombycina corpus*, ſays 9 *Martial*, ſuch Women uſed it.

r Juvenal. *Sat.* 6. r *Quæ tenui ſudant in cyclade, quarum*
Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.

† *Lib.* 7. *c.* 17. *Petulans, madidúmque Tarentum.* It had the name ἀπὸ τῆ Ταραντίνων χρήσεως καὶ ἕξεως, ſaith † *Pollux*. Ἐπικάρπιοι ὄφεις, are like to be Σαῦραι, *Lacertæ*, ſuch as ſhe in *Theocritus* would have uſed in a potion, but I had rather take them for the ὄφεις worn about the wriſts πρὸ καρπῶν· and the golden fetters I ſuppoſe to be ſtronger than woollen. But beſides all theſe, there was μηλοβολεῖν, feats to be done by the throwing of an Apple. *Cydonium malum* I mean, reported to grow in the Garden of *Venus*, and uſed at Weddings, (as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.) Thus when

s Ariſtan. *lib.* 1. *Ep.* 10. *Cydippe* was ſitting in the Temple of s *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his Apple with this Inſcription, Μὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Ἀκοντίῳ γαμῆσαι, or if you had rather have Latin,

Juro tibi ſane per myſtica ſacra Dianæ,
Me tibi venturam comitem ſponſámque futuram.

And ſo made her think ſhe *took*, when ſhe did but *reade* the Oath. And thus v *Hippomanes* drew back *Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a piece and threw it, it was enough: which made x *Philenis*, being jealous of her Siſter *Thelxinoe* complain of *Pamphilus* his throwing a piece of an Apple in her lap. The y women of *Theſſaly* are eſpecially noted for cunning women at this work, being

v Ovid. *Met.* *l.* 10. *fab.* 11.

x Ariſt. *lib.* 1. *ep.* 25.

y Achil. Tat. *l.* 5. *Theſſala vendit Philtra.* Juvenal.

being able (as he ſays) μαγεύειν ὅπως, ὥστε μὴ θεὸς ἑτέραν ἢ τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἀποκλίνειν γυναῖκα, &c. And ſo for the women of *Egypt* (I think the Sex hath ſtill the Monopoly of Magick) however the *Egyptian* [z] Souldier came to miſtake in the *Doſis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the potion. For inſtead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her wits, as *Caſonia* did her Husband † *Caligula* with an *Hippomanes*. Thoſe φίλτρα, or *Love-potions*, were commonly made of the juyce of ſuch herbs as diſpoſed the body to Venery, ſuch as the σατυλίων (rendred *Paſtinaca*) called by way of excellency, Τὸ φίλτρον ὅτι διαφερόντως εἰς τὰ κατ' Ἀφροδίτην, ſays *Euſtathius*. *Plutarch* (if I miſtake not) in his Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα, expreſſes his diſlike of theſe courſes. But what? was there never a way to *unwitch* the party again? (for I heard of ſome that can doe this who cannot doe the other) yes, either by taking counterfeit Phyſick (as *Leucippe* did) or by waſhing it away in the River *Selemnis*, as (*Pauſanias* ſays) they uſed to doe in *Achaia*; or elſe by Sacrifices or Charms, according as they imagined the cauſe. Whence thoſe words of the * Nurſe to *Myrrha* incited by the Furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her own Father.

[z] Corgias *apud* Tat. *l.* 4.

† Suetonius.

* Ovid. *Met. l.* 10. *fab.* 9. *v.* 397.

Seu Furor eſt, habeo quod Carmine ſanet, & herbis:
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico luſtrabere ritu:
Ira Deum ſive eſt, ſacris placabimus iram.

CAP. VI.

De Uſitato more ſignificandi amorem.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a natural heat (as indeed the Soul is naturally inclined, * ὥσπερ αἰθαίνεσθαι, καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, καὶ μιμνοῦσκειν, ὅπου καὶ φιλεῖν, to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care thoſe Grecian Women had of their Sweethearts. Inſomuch, that if you call to mind ſome of their choiceſt expreſſions thereof (eſpecially that of *Ariadne* to *Theſeus*)

* Plut. *in* Solon.

† *In vita Thes.* *Theseus)* you cannot but be of † *Plutarch*'s mind, in approving the definition given by some of the old Philosophers, who said that it is, Θεῶν ὑπηρεσία πρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν νέων. Not to tell you, that sometimes they sent a wooing to the men; pray take but a taste of their customs in this particular of expressing their love: To trim up their bodies as they did their *own* [a] with flowers (like a *May-maid)* or hang up Garlands at their doors (or τὰ ἐνώπια the parts of the house exposed to sight when the doors were open, ἐκόσμων ἕνεκα τῆς παρούσης, says *Hesychius)* was an ordinary caress, though indeed (as [b] *Athenæus* says) they intend it chiefly to the honour of Ἔρως, τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐρωμένῳ ἄγαλμα, τύπτε δ' ναὸν ὄντα τῷ οἰκήσιν στεφανοῦσι, as making the body of a Sweet-heart the Image, and his house the Temple of Love. The tokens they usually sent were Garlands and Roses, τὰ στεφανία μοι καὶ τὰ ῥόδα πέμπει (says *Petala* to *Simaleon* in *Alciphron)* and (it may be) sometimes bitten pieces of Apples, μῆλα ὑποδεδηγμένα (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with those expressions in fashion among the Romans, when they sate at Table, *viz.* leaving drink in the cup, and giving morsels of meat, such as [c] *Martial* would have *Pontia* send him, rather than a whole leg, or the like, or such as [d] *Ovid* speaks of,

[a] Eustath. Ism.

[b] L. 15.

[c] L. Ep. 7.

[d] Amor. l. El. 4.

Si tibi fortè dabit, quos prægustaverit ipse,
Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

* *De vita Cleric. ad* Nepotian. But I must tell you S. *Hierome*'s * censure, *degustatos cibos blandósque, ac dulces literulas sanctus amor non habet: It ought not to be so amongst you.* *Symmachus* upon these words of the *Birds* in *Aristophanes*, καὶ τοῖσιν ἐρῶσιν σύνεσμεν, says, they were wont to gratifie one another with Birds, such as Doves, and the Σίττη, and the like. But these expressions I weigh but little, when I observe that scarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ὅπου τύχοι, saith the *Scholiast)* was passed by without writing [f] thereon the name of the party, in this form ὁ δεῖνα καλὸς, or κεῖνος καλὸς, for the word κεῖνος among the *Grecians* signified *amasium, a Woman's word*, like τῆνος in *Theocritus.*

[f] Diog. Laert. *in* Diad.

Ἰὺγξ ἔλκε τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν πρὸ δῶμα τὸ ἄνδρα.

Instead

UM

Inſtead whereof (ſay ſome) you ſhall reade κῶμ☉ in the *Comedian in Veſpis*, but I ſee no ſuch need of a correction, for he ſpeaks of the Lawyer that was ſo much in love with the employment of the Court, that the κῶμ☉ [g] (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one ſuch thing or other ran ſtill in his mind, and therefore (ſaith he)

——ἀν ἴδῃ γέ πε γεγραμμένον
Τὸν πυριλάμπες δῦρα δῆμον καλὸν,
Ἰὼν παρέγραψε πλησίον Κῶμ☉ καλός.

[g] *Vid. p.* 118.

In like manner the men dealt with the names of their *Miſtreſſes*, which they wrote ſometimes upon the very leaves of the Trees, according to that of *Callimachus*,

Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλλοισι κεἰομμένα τόσα φέροις
Γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὡς ἐρέωσι Καλλώ.

Let on the leaves ſo many letters lie,
As my *Cydippe Fair* may ſignifie.

Which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his Ἔρωτες ſays of one that was ready to die with the love of *Cnidia Venus*; Τοῖχ☉ ἅπας ἐγεγράφετο, καὶ πᾶς μαλακὸς δένδρα φλοιὸς Ἀφροδίτῃ καλὴν ἐκήρυττεν, *Not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a bark of a tree but what proclaimed* VENUS FAIR. How glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worn them in their Hats as we do? but no wonder they did as they did, having a *Copy* written to them by Nature (for

——*Inſcripti nomina verum*
Naſcuntur flores——)

and an *example* given them by *Apollo* himſelf, who when he turned *Hyacinthus* into a Flower of the ſame name to keep his *memory* alive, when he was dead and not contented with that,

[h] *Ipſe ſuos gemitus foliis inſcribit, & Ai, Ai,*
Flos habet inſcriptum——

[h] Ovid. *Met. lib.* 10. *fab.* 5.

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preſerved, and one half of his name, as the ſame Authour hath it.

[i] *Litera communis mediis puerâque viróque*
Inſcripta eſt foliis: hæc nominis, illa querelæ.

[i] *Lib.* 13. *fab.* 11.

But

But the vehement love of *Moſchus* to *Bion* his deceaſed Friend thought thoſe lamenting interjections too little, unleſs there were written a Κεῖνῳ καλὸς beſides upon the ſame flower.

Νῦν ὑακινθε λάλει τὰ σὰ γεράμματα, καὶ πλέον Αἰ, Αἰ,
Λάμβανε σοῖς πέταλοισι, καλὸς τέθνηκε μελικτής.

Καλὸς for him, and Καλὴ for her was ſure to be written, for *Never ſeem'd Miſtreſs foul and Priſon fair.* But for her part if ſhe were Κυανόφρυς, or had black eye-brows ſhe was counted fair indeed, according to that of *Gregory Nyſſen,* καὶ ὀφρῶν μέλαιναν ἐπικυμβούσῃ τῷ ὄμματι, inſomuch that *Jul. Pollux* ſays, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὀφρῦς, *to black them:* or if ſhe were ſomewhat big of ſtature; and therefore *Ariſtotle* in his Rhetorick puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Ἀρετὴ τοῦ σώματος, as he doth σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλεργίαν, for the moſt commendable virtues of her mind. What the women of other times eſteemed to be the τὸ καλὸν of a man I know not. It ſeems in *Ariſtotle*'s time it was counted moſt commendable, τὸ πρὸς τοὺ πόνους χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα, τόν τ' πρὸς δρόμον ἢ πρὸς βίαν ἡδὺν ὅλα ἐδεῖν πρὸς ἅπαντα. But I have talkt too long of Love, or of *Robin-hood,* that never ſhot in his bow. I fear the Reader will blame me for caſting away ſo much oil and labour upon ſuch a Subject, and (it may be) give his cenſure, that [k] *Oratio eſt vultus animi.* But thoſe that know me will diſtruſt his Phyſiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper: However now I am *in,* I will not ſtick, but [l] *propere ſequi quæ piget inchoare,* and proceed to the Nuptials themſelves.

[k] Seneca *Ep.* 115.

[l] Tacit.

CAP. VII.

De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unleſs the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or σταφυλὴ ὀμφακίζουσα, *but a ſowre grape* (as *Euſtathius*) and not yet ripe, *Matura Viro* (in the words of *Virgil*) they were thus betrothed

betrothed and yoked together. The man did in the presence of witnesses, *promise himself* after the matter of the Latin form, *Se sponsam post concubitum invitam non deserturum*, and so gave her one ἀρρᾶβων or other in earnest: but the woman she was *desponsata*, promised or bestowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promises of a Woman were false enough to make the saying among the *French* to be true,

Qui femme croit & asne mesne,
Son corps ne sera ia sans peine.

And yet (it seems) though they feared she might break a promise, they * thought an Oath to be strong enough to hold her: For sometimes at the consummation of the business, they went both into the *Temple*, and there engaged themselves mutually by Oath, as it is probable by the practice of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Isis*, where the man swore ἀγαπήσειν ἀδόλως, and the woman ἄνδρα πιστήσασθαι, καὶ πάντων ὑποτάξαι δεσπότην. I do not remember that the *Athenians* had that good fellows trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *poculum conjugii*, as well as *Charitatis*, and to *pledge their troth* in a *cup*, a trick by which [a] *Camma* is reported to have poisoned *Synorix* (whom she pretended to Marry) for kissing her Husband. Or that they used the custome of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loaf in two between them with a sword, related by [b] *Q. Curtius*. Surely it had been a true *Roman consecration*, if they had. The Rites usually observed at a Wedding are said [c] to have been invented by *Erato*. They were partly these. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would say to take her leave of the [d] *Virgin*; Besides this, before she can cease to be of the *herd* to the ἄζυγας * κέρας, take heed, *Great Diana* will be clean out of patience, if she have not a draught of the bloud of a Heifer Calf, never yet married in the *yoke* (and so the fitter for the maid that gives, and the maid that takes) and a crop of her hair besides, according to that of *Euripides*.

* Μόσχοισι σὲ γάμων, ἃς θεᾷ πεπὸν χρεών
Ἀρτέμιδι.

* Achil. Tat. *l.* 5.

[a] Alex. *ab* Alex. *l.* 2. *c.* 5.

[b] *Lib.* 8.

[c] Cæl. Rhod. *l.* 7. *c.* 4.

[d] Παρθένος.

* Minerva *so called.*

* Euripid. *in* Iphigen. Aul. *ver.* 11, 12.

And therefore *Clytemneſtra* (ſpeaking of her Daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband,

[f] *Ibid.* v. 7. 11. [f] Πρόσλεκτα δ' ἦδη παιδὸς ἔσφαξας θεᾷ;

Whether he had ſeen the ſacrifice perform'd? But alas poor *Iphigenia*, *ſhe* had ſo much to *doe* as to be a ſacrifice to *Diana* the *Goddeſs of Aulis*, and to be made a Calf her ſelf: When as our Woman, it will ſerve her turn to κανηφορεῖν to *Diana* the Goddeſs of *Virginity*; that is, give her a Basket for a preſent to ſtop her mouth, ſome curious Needle-work or other, with a prayer beſides to this purpoſe, [g] Ἄρτεμι μὴ νεμέσα——*That ſhe ſhould not take it amiſs if ſhe be married.* But now I muſt tell you, that beſides thoſe Rites of the κανηφόρια, there were others as ſolemn as they to be obſerved too, if ever they thought to obtain the good will of the Goddeſs. The manner of them, and the occaſion you have related by *Suidas* thus, It happened upon a time that a certain Bear growing tame, came and lived in the δῆμος of the *Phlavides*; inſomuch that at length a little Girl durſt go ſo far and ſo near, as to play with it, but the Bear quickly grew to be in earneſt, and drew her bloud for the *ſtake*; whereupon one of her Brothers ſhot the Bear and killed it. Preſently after this there happened a very great Peſtilence in the City; and the Oracle being ſought unto, anſwer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they muſt make a decree, that every Girl in the City of *Athens*, ſometime or other between the years of Five and Ten of her age, clad in a κροκωτὸς or Saffron-colour garment, did offer and devote her ſelf to *Diana*, to make amends for the Bear; and therefore a Girl thus conſecrated, was her ſelf called ἄρκτος, *the* [h] *Bear*, and the action ἀρκτεία and ἀρκτεύειν, to *play the Bear* (which methinks was very unfitting for a Maid) and ſometimes δεκατεύειν, becauſe commonly they deferred it till the laſt year, as ſhe did in [i] *Leuſiſtrate*.

[g] Theocr. *Id.* 17.

[h] Harpocr.

[i] Ariſtoph.

Εἰ τ' ἀλετεὶς ἢ δεκάτης
Οὔσα τ' ἀρχτεύσεις
Καλαχέουσα κροκωτὸν ἐν Βραυρωνίοις.

[f] Ἐν Βραυ-

Ἐν Βραυρωνίοις she says, becauſe it was to be done in the Feaſt of *Brauronia* kept in the Month of *Munichion* to the honour of the ſame *Diana*, who [k] is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pauſanias (in Atticis)* ſays that Image of hers which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, inſomuch that ſhe came to be called by the name of *Diana* [l] *Brauronia*. And yet for all this, for ought that I can ſee, ſhe need not to have been ſo ſcrupulous for diſpleaſing I know not whom, if ſhe had *Cecrops* his own Law for warrant, who firſt inſtituted the contract of Matrimony, and was therefore called by the name of Διφυὴς, ſaith [m] *Euſtathius*: or elſe (according to the Scholiaſt upon [n] *Ariſtophanes (quaſi* μᾶλλον δυοῖν φύσεις τὴ τε παῖδος, καὶ τ μαῖδος, becauſe he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and Mother (as to *Knowledge* and in the way of a *certain* couple) or rather, if you will, the natures of a *Father* and a *Son*; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Son, nor the Son by the Father. But ſome again ſay, he had this name, becauſe of his having the bodies of two diſtinct natures: in the upper part of a Man, and in the lower of a Dragon, as he ſays (in *Veſpis*)

Ὦ Κέκροψ ἡρως ἄναξ τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν δραικουλώδη.

And others, becauſe of the many excellent Laws which he made. Whereby he is reported ſo to have tam'd and civiliz'd the brutiſh conditions of the ancient people of *Athens*, that he ſeemed to have *new moulded* them, and made them of *another nature*; in the ſenſe that the ſtones have been ſaid to be turned into Men, and the Trees into Lovers of Muſick. Of all the reaſons that are given, I like that beſt which likes [o] *Rhodiginus*, who ſays, he was called by this name, becauſe the *Children* did now appear to be διφυεῖς, *come of two*, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but μονογενεῖς, the Sons of a *Mother* onely; nay hardly that, at ſuch time as the faſhion was to be *expos'd* or *put out* to nurſing to Bears and Wolves and the like. But enough of this, for I have more work for the Woman yet. She muſt Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces*

[k] Athen. *l.* 6.

[l] Pauſan. *in Aread.*

[m] *Ad Odyſſ.*

[n] *In* Plut. *Act.* 3. *Sc.* 3.

[o] *Lib. c.* 25.

for the paſt, and in ſpecial manner to *Juno* γαμηλία, either as a *Pronuba* for the *preſent*, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater-familias* (as he in [p] *Plautus* calls her) for the future. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their Gods, when they chang'd their condition, and I ſhould be glad if *we Chriſtians* could anſwer, *not guilty*, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready αὐτὸς ἕτερον, &c. (as *Ariſtotle* ſays in his [q] *Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum Bonum* every day at the leaſt. The Sacrifices performed to *Juno* went under the ſeveral names of προγάμεια, τελέλεια, and προτέλειοι εὐχαὶ, ἡραίλεια, and γαμήλιοι εὐχαὶ, indeed the two firſt are ſometimes the ſame that ἐπίδοσα, the gifts ſent before the wedding, and the word προτέλεια is uſed alſo ſometimes in relation to others as well as to *Juno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verſe of *Euripides* already cited. And therefore in another [r] place of the ſame Tragedy, you have the *Greek* Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they ſaw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pomp thus ſpeaking;

Ἀρτέμιδι προτελίζουσι τὼν γεανίδα
Αὐλίδ' ἀνάσσων τὶς νιν ἄξεται πότε.

And ſo ſometimes to the † *Parcæ*, whom they had reaſon to remember, if they meant to be *ſpar'd*, or to ſpin out their lives to the longeſt. But yet *Juno* (I think) was in a great deal more requeſt among Lovers, than any of the reſt, becauſe they had her name ſo oft in their mouths. For among the *Latines*, when they would expreſs themſelves in the moſt affectionate manner that might be, they uſed to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the old dotard does his *Caſina*, in the Poet [t] by the name of *Juno*.

Eia mea Juno, non decet te eſſe tam triſtem tuo Jovi.

Add hereunto the title of Ἥρα τελεία, (as there is alſo Ζεὺς τέλειος) under which ſhe was worſhipped, which (together with the word προτέλεια) muſt be ſo ſaid, either from τέλος anciently put for γάμος (as τελειοῦσθαι was for γαμεῖσθαι) from whence comes τέλειον, both the Sacrifice and the day, or from προτέλειν, to *initiate*, or from τέλειος, *adultus*, as if onely ſuch as were of age (and ἐν βίῳ τελείῳ) [v] might be ſuffered to have the *happineſs* to marry. Now *Juno adulta* and *Jupiter*

[p] *In* Amphit. *Act.* 2. *Sc.* 2.

[q] *Lib.* 1. *c.* 4.

[r] *V.* 433.

† Jul. Pol. *l.* 3. *c.* 3.

[t] Plaut. *in* Caſina, *Act* 1. *Sc.* 3.

[v] Ariſtot.

Jupiter adultus were the more religiously worshipped at such a time ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων (says *Suidas*) as being esteemed in a manner of *Prytanæi* and overseers of the wedding. Here's a great deal of *cry* about *sacrifices*, but you'll say the *Wool* is to come: onely some σπονδαὶ there must be, lest any Roman should grudge the Woman the name of a *Sponsa*. Now because (it may be) I set you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will speak a word or two more of them. The gift called by *Demosthenes*, ταμηλία, was that which they sent to the ἑορτάσεις for the making of a Feast, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called ἕδνα (as they did also those which they gave when they went a wooing.) But the ἕδνιος χλαῖν was a garment bestowed upon the Husband by the Wife (giving of apparel was very usual once both with the *Jew* [x] and the *Gentile*,) and you may not wonder at her for liberality, if she *gave a Cake to him that had a Pasty in the Oven*; for if she *brought* her ἐδύας, she had her ἐπιφέρνια to *carry* away. Nor can you blame her for immodesty in giving, who was to be *given* her self: for else (it may be) before it was come thus far, she might bear the blame of the Proverb, *Femme que donne s'abandonne*, *She that gives is soon gotten*. The petty gifts then *given* by the Parents they call'd μείλια, ἐπιμείλια, as were those which were given *after* the Wedding. The dowry bestowed upon her by her Father at the first, προῖξ: that which was afterward added to improve it, ἐπίπροικα. (Thus some have thought good to distinguish, and look their gifts in the mouth; but they may be too free of their distinctions.) At her first coming to her Husband, she had bestowed upon her by him and her Friends τὰ ἀνακαλυπτήρια (which was also the name of the day it self) otherwise called ἀναγνωστρα, ὀπτήρια, ἀδρήμαλα, and προσφθεγκτήρια, and all for the same reason, *viz.* because those gifts were given, *ut illa pateretur se videri*, says [y] *Victorius*: to make her take off her veil, and be seen; in such a way *Jupiter* is reported to have bestowed upon *Proserpina* the City of *Thebes*: according to those Verses of *Euphorion*,

[x] Gen. c. 24. 5.

[y] Var. Lect. 25. c. 3.

As

as they are cited by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Phœnissis*,

Τῇ ῥά ποτε Κρειόντος ἄῶρον πυρὶ Περσεφονείῃ,
Ἐν γάμῳ ὅτε πρῶτον ἐπωπήσαιτο ἔμελλε
Νυμφιδίου ταρείοιο πυρὶ κλίνουσα κάλυπτρον.

Κάλυπτρον says he, or καλύπτραν according to *I. Pollux*, for although she might now shew her face, and be modest nevertheless, yet *before*, she stood behind a red veil or hood, with which she hid her self, and so deserved the name of עלמה if it were nothing else [z] but for that. This *Luteous* veil is otherwise called ξανθὸς, in Latine [a] *Flammeum*, in Heb. צעיף such a thing as *Rebeccah* had when she met with her Husband, *Gen.* 24. 65. or *Tamar* when she met with a worse thing, *c.* 38. 19. The reason why they were not unveil'd till they came to be *covert Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Sparta*, they say, it was the clean contrary) is by *Charilaus* (cited by [b] *Cæl. Rhodiginus*) delivered *veil'd* under these words, Ὅπως τὰς μὲν κόρας ἀνδρας δύρειν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας σώζειν τοῦ ἔρωτος, the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custome though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very great aim when I say:

Aucta fuga forma est——

(as *Ovid* says of *Peneis* when *Apollo* pursued her) or when I express my self in the words of *Nonnus*.

Καὶ πλέον ἱμείρεσκε καλυπτομένοιο προσώπου.

Men long, to see a face that's hid, the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocrates*, who having a Wife, that was none of the handsomest, put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being demanded his ἀνακαλυπτήρια, very handsomely answered to put it off, ἐγκαλυπτήρια μᾶλλον τοιαύτῃ λαμβάνων, *I had more need to give her somewhat to let her veil alone, unless she were better than she is.* Whether these *Flammea* were of the same making that their ordinary πέπλα were, I cannot well tell; but if they were (as I have some cause so to think, by those words of [c] *Iphigenia* as she was going to be married, Ἐγὼ δὲ λευκῶν ὄμμα διὰ καλυμμάτων Ἔχυσ'——) then I must tell you they were so thin that their faces might well have been discovered, and the covering been let alone, for *Helen* it seems, could see the flowers through them.

[z] *See another reason in* Prov. 3. 19.

[a] Juv. *Sat.* 2.

[b] *L.* 13. 46.

[c] *In* Aul. v. 372.

[d] Ὡς

d Ὃς με χλοερὰν
Δρεπτομένην ἔσω πέπλων
Ῥᾳδίᾳ πάλᾳ——

d Eurip. *Hel.* v. 150.

But this may be easily answered; for as (you know) a *mountain* that is afar off, may be hid by putting but the little finger between, so again, one man is able to see another plainly thorough that which is sufficient to hide *himself*. And so much for the gifts at present, perchance you may have more anon. Now the custome was for the Bride to be carried from her (παρθενῶν) Chamber to her Husband in a Coach or some such kind of thing, which the poor Girl in the * Poet complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuse) could term little better than being *ferried* in *Charon*'s boat.

* *Id. in Tauris* v. 370, &c.

Ἄδυς Ἀχιλλεὺς ὢν ἄρ', ἐχ ὁ Πηλέως
Ὃν μοι προσεῖπας πόσιν, ἐν ἁρμάτων δ' ὄχοις
Εἰς αἱματηρὸν γάμων ἐπορθμεύσας δόλῳ.
To Pluto, *not to* Peleus's *son*
You would me then have married,
When me to bloudy Nuptials
In Coach and Fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather so much by the *Nuncius* in another Tragedy, for he says, he had done this office for *Helen* himself.

f Λαμπάδων μεμνήσεσθ', ἃς ἡ πυρσεύουσις
Ἵππους ζυγάζων πρέσβυν· σὺ δ' ἐν δίφροις
Σοὶ πῶλ' ἡ νύμφη δῶμ' ἔλιπε; ὄλβιον.

f *Id. in Hel.* v. 728.

(I make bold to trouble you with so much Greek, because it explains the custome so fully.) The song which they sung as they went along, they called ἁρμάτειον μέλος, from ἅρμα, *the Coach*; the Axletree whereof they burnt as soon as they came to the Bridegroom's door, *ut signarent illam ibi perpetuò mansuram, neque inde ulla tempestate* g *recessuram*; to shew that she was never to return from thence again: just as *William* the Conqueror burnt his Ships at *Pevensey*, that so his Souldiers seeing their return to be desperate, might fight the more *desperately* (as we use to say) or with the better courage. The νυμφαγωγὸς, νυμφοστὸς, or παρανυμφος that

g Alex. *ab* Alex.

was

was ſent to fetch her, either ſate by her ſide in the ſame Coach, or elſe went along by her Coaches ſide in another, and was therefore called πάροχος, from ὄχος, unleſs that ſhe were either *willing*, or *conſtrain'd* to *foot* it; for then he could be but χαμαίπους, *a Pedee*. This cuſtome for the Husband to lead his Wife home by the hand of a proxy (yet in faſhion among Kings and Princes) was ſure to be obſerved at his *ſecond Marriage*, for then (ſays [h] *Euſtathius*) ὁ θέμις (ὃ νενόμισαι, ſays [i] *Pollux*) ἢ νυμφίον μέλλειν, he might not doe it himſelf, perhaps out of ſhame, becauſe they accounted it a diſparagement for a man to Marry the ſecond time, yea though his former Wife were dead, as it may be I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew you hereafter. Beſides the νυμφίος, or the *Brideman*, and ſome of her own friends, there went along with her a νυμφεύτρια, or a *Bride-woman* to take off her veil, and dreſs, and undreſs, and doe other ſuch offices as ſhould be required. Her Wedding *Ornaments* were pretious ſtones, and jewels, eſpecially about her Bed, ſuch as [k] *Hermione* had in the Tragedy. Κοσμὸν μὲ ἀμφὶ κραῖ χρυσέας χλιδῆς. Her *Wedding Garment* was all of purple ſave in one place (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where elſe) ἔνθα ὃ δ' ἄλλαις ἐδῆσιν ἡ χῶρα τ πορφύρας ἐκεῖ χρυσοῦς ἰών, and there was gold, which agrees very well with that of *Heſiod* concerning a *Virgin*,

Οὔπω ἔργ' εἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

Who never yet the Works of Golden Venus *knew.*

I think I might venture upon this cuſtome to interpret τὸν πορφύρεον τ παρθενίας (in [l] *Euſtathius*) in another ſenſe than others have done. When ſhe came to the houſe, ſhe found the Doors all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obſita*, ſays [m] *Apulcius*: it ſeems they tarried not till [n] *Juvenal*'s time

———*Foribus ſuſpende Coronas*

Jam pater es———

Neither was it any whit ſtrange to her to ſee thoſe ornaments upon the *Houſe*, for ſhe herſelf had the ſame according to thoſe words of *Clytemneſtra* to *Achilles*,

[o] Σοὶ καταστέψαν ἐγὼ νιν ἦγον ὡς γαμεμβόλων.

And

[h] *In* Homeri *Il.* Γ'.
[i] *L.* 3. *c.* 5.
[k] Eurip. Androm. *v.* 147.
[l] *Iſm. l.* 10.
[m] *L.* 3. *Met.*
[n] *Sat.* 9.
[o] Eurip. Iphig. *in* Aul. *v.* 705.

And (I think) her Husband too μηδὲ στεφανώσης, μηδὲ σκεύασόν μοι αὔριον νυμφίον, says [p] *Lybanius*, speaking to the Father, whose work it was to trim the Husband; as it was the Mothers to adorn the Wife. The custome of adorning the *House* with Garlands, was very much in use among the Romans too, and as much detested by the Christians, *Christianus nec Laureis januam infamabit*, says [q] *Tertullian*. Those Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, consecrated to *Venus*, and so they made them in *Italy*, or of *Asparagus*, and so they made them in *Bœotia*, or else of the leaves of the herbs Σισύμβριον, Σήσαμον, and Μήκων, and so they made them at *Athens*, Σήσαμα δὲ καὶ μήκωνες καὶ σισύμβρια φύλλα οἷς στεφανοῦνται οἱ νυμφίοι, says the [r] Scholiast, the leaves had the name of the Herb in the plural number. The *Garland* made of *Sesamum leaves* had the name of Σισαμὴ or Σησαμὶς, but the *Cake* which they made of the grain was called Σησαμοῦς. For Cakes they usually bestowed upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* says in the † Comedy (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

Ὁ πλακοῦς πέπτηκ' Σησαμὴ ξυμπλάπτεται.

And made they were of *Sesamum* rather than any other thing διὰ τὸ πολύγονον (says the Scholiast) as if it were the Herb *Polygonum*, a name very ominous to the new Married people. Whether the custome of kembing her hair with a Spear (such as had been kept by a fencer with the loss of his life) were in use among the *Grecian* women too (as some [t] say it was) I cannot determine: But among the *Romans* it was, and they called such a spear *hastam cœlibarem*. The reason why the Woman made use of such a comb, or made this use of a spear, is thought to be, either *Quasi fortes eâ de causâ viros se genituram ominetur*, *Because she ominated that by this means she should have strong men to her children*, or *Quod sponsi disciplinæ se subditam fateatur*, *Because she acknowledg'd her self subject to her husband's discipline*. As the woman went forth of her *father*'s house, she was to be *lifted* out over the threshold, just as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of the Election, to pretend a constraint. You see, 'tis *ducere (Uxorem)* almost every

[p] *Declam.* 39.

[q] *De Coron. Milit. c.* 13.

[r] *Upon* Aristoph. *in Pa.*

† Aristoph. *Pac.*

[t] Alex. *ab* Alex. *l.* 2. *c.* 9.

every where, and yet they ſay, that *Love will creep where it cannot go.* As ſhe entred into her Husband's houſe, the
[y] Ariſt. *in Pluto.* [y] Boys and Maids fell a throwing of Figs and Junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *ſycophancy*, but as an *omen* of *fruitfulneſs* εὐπορίας σημεῖον, (ſays *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in mind of a fooliſh cuſtome once in faſhion with ſome of us, *viz.* upon *Twelf-Eve* (as they call'd it) to put part of their toſted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and ſo to cry *Whatſayle*, and ſing a *Carmen* for a fruitfull year. The trumpery thus thrown or poured out, they called κατάχυσματα, as the word is uſed by the Poet in his Comedy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to doe the like upon him, and ſo to give him the *joy* for his new bought eyes; ſays ſhe

——Κεμίσπω κατάχυσματα
Ὥσπερ γενήπτοισιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ.

Upon which words the Scholiaſt notes it to have been the cuſtome alſo for a new ſervant, at his firſt coming into the houſe, to have him to the fire ſide, and there to *ſtrow* upon his head κόκκυξα, ἰγκάλους, σύκινα, *Junkets, and Figs, and Palm-branches*, and a hundred other ſuch trinkets. But this I think was done not onely, as *he* ſays, εἰς εὐπορίας σημεῖον, to make it an *omen* of fruitfulneſs (as they had done to his Maſter before) but alſo for the benefit of the old ſervants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was thrown, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) do the *Freſhmens Gaudies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but ſome *beaſt* or other was beſtowed upon *them* for a *victime*. In the cutting of it up (to ſhew that in Wedlock all bitterneſs and choler muſt be caſt
[z] Cæl. Rhod. *l.* 28. *c.* 21. aſide) they took the [z] Gall, and flung it with a moſt eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice. If there happened any thing *obſcene* or unlucky, the Nuptials
[y] Ach. Tat. *l.* 2. were diſſolv'd; and thus it happened to [y] *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*; for an Eagle came and ſnatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. Now this Sacrifice was uſually performed by the Fathers (and none ſo fit to be the Prieſts of their own Family) as may be gathered from

from the practice of [z] *Agamemnon*; who when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding cheer*, very religiously made answer yes,

[z] Eurip. Iph. in A. v. 721.

Θύσας γὰ θύμασθ' ἅπερ ἔχεις νῦν θυσίας.
When I have done my Wedding Sacrifice.

As also by that which you may reade of the like practice in *Achilles Tatius*, where he speaks of the Marriages of *Leucippe* and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more especial manner to *Jupiter* Ὁμογνίῳ, and *Juno* Ζυγία, as it may appear by that of * *Libanius*, τὰ πάλεις ἐπίφησε, καὶ Ὁμόγνιον Δία, καὶ Ἥραν Συζυγίαν ἐτίμησε πρότερον. By reason of this, and other solemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a Prophanation they made it to disturb the business never so little, or to offer any *incivility* to either of the parties, especially to the Wife: as for instance; One *Callicles* (of whom you may reade the story in *Photius*, *Codice* σοδ'.) being accused of Bribery to the *Areopagus*, they summon'd him to make his appearance at the Court to answer the crime; but the Serjeants that were sent (saith my Authour) τὰ πρόθυρα ἰδόντες ἐστεφανωμένα, καὶ γνόντες ὡς εἰη πεδυκὼς νυνὶ γάμοις, ἀφέντες τὴν ζήτησιν ἀνεχώρησαν, ἃ δὲ ὠήθησαν εὖ ἔχειν εἰσελθὼν γυναικὶ νεογάμῳ, as soon as they saw but the *signs* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the door) and were informed of a Nuptial Sacrifice, because they would not rush in uncivilly upon the new Married Wife, they made no more enquiry after the man, but returned presently back again, and the Court was contented with the news. So likewise in the Wars with King *Philip*, having intercepted several Letters of his to his Friends, and amongst the rest one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*, when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cry'd out, μήτε λύειν μήτε ἀναγινώσκειν, *that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up.* † Πρὸς γὰρ γαμετὴν γυναῖκα τὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμιλίαν ἀπορρήτων ἀνδρὸς ἐκ ἐνόμιζον δημοσιεύειν ἐυπρεπὲς εἶ, *Because they thought it a thing no way beseeming them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his wife.* From the service of their

* Libanius Declam. 35.

† Photius ib.

Gods, they made haſte to the ſervice of their *Genius*; but amidſt a great deal of good cheer, the man and the wife were always noted [a] for a great deal of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thorns, and boughs of Acrons, ſinging as he went, [b] ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὗρον ἄμεινον, *I* (or *they*) *have avoided a worſe evil, and met with a better.* If he ſpake in the perſon of the man, he meant that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the beſt of the *three evils* at the leaſt; and ſo it is not ſo bad as *Out of the frying pan into the fire* (unleſs you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of looſing her, for ſo (they ſay) *he that hath loſt his Wife and ſix pence, hath ſome loſs by the money.*) The Muſick which they had was ſinging ἀμοιβαίως, *by turns*, and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Romans did upon *Thalaſſius*) [c] Ὑμὴν, ὦ Ὑμέναιε, ὦ Ὑμήν, imitated by him in *Plautus*.

[a] Athenæus *lib.* 9.

[b] Zenobius.

[c] Ariſt. *in Avib.*

Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Io Hymen.

And this they did either in a *thankfull commemoration* of one of that name, who had ſometimes ſaved the Maids of *Athens* from a general raviſhment; (ſuch as there was once of the *Sabines*) or elſe in a *ſorrowfull commiſeration* of another, that happen'd to be kill'd by the fall of a houſe that very day that he Married. Whatever the *Man* was, they ſeem to have given him the honour of a God, and therefore to have been very loath to give him diſtaſte, in omitting any part of the Nuptial Ceremonies.

Quid ſi etiam offendam Hymenæum?

[d] *In* Caſin. *Act.* 4. *Sc.* 3.

ſays he in [d] *Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep ſuch a noiſe in the ſtreets, as they did with their *Io Hymen, Hymenæe*, as ſoon as ever ſhe was out of her Father's houſe.

Ὅταν ξὺν ὑμεναίοισιν ἐξάγῃ κόρας.

[*] Eurip. Iphig. *in A. v.* 693.

ſays *Clytemneſtra*; * which agrees with that of the other Poet in the ſame place.

Age tibicen, dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,
Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæe.

Whether 'twere the faſhion in *Greece* to ſet the woman firſt in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tell: but (if I miſtake not) *Lactantius* has ſomewhat of ſuch a thing, and I might ſpeak more

more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the woman was led into the Chamber (ἡ θάλαμον or ἡ παστάδα) to ſhew whereto ſhe muſt, there was a Sieve carried along with her, and a Peſtle hung at the door, σημεῖα αὐτουργίας (as *I. Pollux* ſays) or to ſignifie that hereafter ſhe muſt learn to *put her hand* to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Woman were *both* in (for the Woman was in firſt, as the faſhion is with *Us*) according to *Solon*'s own order, they were to take a *Quince Apple*, and eat it between them, ὅπ δεῖ πρὸ τοῦ σῶματος, καὶ φωνῆς χάριν εὐάρμοστον εἶ) πρέπειν καὶ ἡδεῖαν, ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to ſignifie *the pleaſantneſs and harmony that ſhould be in their talk at firſt.* And yet notwithſtanding now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would come and ſcold (*grave cornicaretur* forſooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at leaſt) and leave the *building imperfect*; and this they called ἀνεπίξεστον δῶμα, or γάμου ἀτελῆ, becauſe by this means

[f] ——*Conjux miſeranda Cayco* [f] Valer. Flac.
Linquitur, & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili.

δῶμα, I ſaid (or if you will ὑποκορίζεσθαι ſpeak a little finer) δωμάτιον, for this word is many times uſed by it ſelf for θάλαμος, as it ſeems to be by *Plato* in his third book *de Repub.* ſpeaking of *Jupiter* thus, καθάπερ ἐκ παιδὸς ἐθάλα ἡ ἥρα, ὥστε μηδὲ εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ βλάβων χαμαὶ συγγίνεσθαι. And yet I think [g] *Heſiod* (without any wrong done him) may be underſtood of any other buſineſs left *Roughhewn, unpoliſh'd*, or not *done over* again, when he ſays.

[g] Ἔργ. *l.* 2.

Μηδὲ δόμον ποιῶν ἀνεπίξεστον καταλείπειν.
Μήπτι ἐπεζόμενον κραίνῃ λαχανόρνιξ κωκύων.

[h] *Iſmenias* applies it indeed to our purpoſe; but now to prevent ſuch an *omen* as this, they ſet the boys to cry Κόρη λακόρει κορώνιλλα, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had been ſet to keep off the Rooks from the corn: κορώνιλλα (I ſay) and not κορώναι, in the plural number: for herein the *Scholiaſt* upon *Pindar* is ſuppoſed to have miſtaken; becauſe neither that bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever wont to be lookt upon as unlucky; unleſs it came in the

[h] *Apud* Euſt. *l.* 5.

the ſingular number; and then the *birds* being ſingled and divided one from the other, could not poſſibly be a good ſign to thoſe that were to be *coupl'd*, and joyn'd together. But ſome notwithſtanding like the Choughs for *very good lucky birds* (as we uſe to ſay) let them come how they will; either becauſe they are πολιζωνοι (as *Homer* calls them) *long-liv'd*, or becauſe *ea cornicum ſocietas eſt* (ſays [i] one) *ut ex duabus Sociis, alterâ extinctâ, vidua altera perpetua maneat.* Now in the Chamber where they were to lie, they had two Beds, *viz.* κλίνην γαμικὴν, and κλίνην παρέζυγον, or a *ſide-bed* for a change, or ὥσπερ τὴν πυὶ παῖδα μὴ ἀζυμήτην, ſaith *Heſychius*. If the parties that were married were very young, their Poets would term the bed κιθάριον λέχος, as *Ariſtophanes* does (in *Pace*) and ſo κιθάριον * δῶμα for the houſe, and κιθαρίδα for the wife. Before the woman could lie with the man, ſhe was to have her bath of water heated of purpoſe to waſh her body in, ὑμεναῖον λοῦτρον, they called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Lyſiſtrate*.

[i] Alex. *ab* Al. *l.* 2. *c.* 5.

* Homer.

Στρ. Εἰ ῥύμμια πυξάνεις ἔχων, λοῦτρον παρέξω.
Χορ. Ἐμοὶ σὺ λοῦτρον ὦ σαπρὲ; Στ. κἀγὼ παῦτα ὑμεναίαν.

And in *Pace*, you have *Trigæus* when he intended to marry *Opora*, giving order to his ſervant, as ſoon as he had brought her to his houſe, firſt to provide him a pot of water, and afterward to make the bed.

Ἀλλ' ἔσπαγ' ὡς τάχιστα παιδίωι λαβὼν,
Καὶ τὴν πύελον καλλύνε, κἀγὼ θήσομαι ὕδωρ
Σπουδῆ μοι κἀγὼ τὴν ὃ κιθάριον λέχος.

This water at firſt was fetcht as far as from *Callirhoe-well*, ὃν ἡ καλλίρροῆς εἶτ' αὖθις ὃν ἡ ἐννεακρήνη κληθεῖσης, *but afterward*, ſays [k] *Pollux*, from *Enneacrunus*, which was ſo called becauſe it had nine ſeveral κρῆναι, or *fiſtulas*, or *ſalientes*, where the water ſprung up, and ſo you might allow one for every Muſe in the City. But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrunus* were but two diſtinct names of the ſame Well: The one expreſſing what *fair water* it was, or how well and clear it ran; and the other in how many places: for it may very well be thought ſo by that verſe of [l] *Statius*,

[k] *Lib.* 3. *c.* 3.

[l] *Theb.* 12.

Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis
Implicat——

Nay,

Nay, *Thucydides* ſays poſitively, they were the ſame. Onely that when the well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was uſual when they new made a thing to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrunus*. Which if it be ſo, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to reade it thus, ἐκ τῆ Καλλιῤῥόης, εἶτ' αὖθις ἡ ἐννεακρήνυ κληθείσης, *From Callirhoe afterward named Enneacrunus.* The woman whom they employ'd to fetch this water, was commonly called the Λεβητόφορος. When the wife was ready to undreſs, her Mother took her hairlace and winding it about one of the *Torches* for they had δᾳδας νυμφικὰς too) burnt it out, and made up her hair with a new. The *Mother*, I ſaid, for *ſhe* commonly would δαδοῦχεῖν, carry the torches, or *hold the candle* to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* uſed to doe

—— Non te duxit in thalamos parens
Comitata primos, nec ſua feſtas manu
Ornavit ædes, nec ſuâ lætas faces
Vitta revinxit ——

ſays * *Jocaſta*. For the matter of theſe Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not aſſur'd: whether it were *Corylus*, commonly uſed for ſuch purpoſes, according to *Pliny*; or *Larex*, or *Spina Alba*, which they uſed amongſt the Romans: and ſo likewiſe for their number, whether the cuſtome were to have juſt five according to the number of the Gods which they prayed to, *viz. Jupiter Adultus*, *Juno Adulta*, *Venus*, *Suadela* and *Lucina*, they have not given me light enough to diſcover; a little glimmering I have, and ſome cauſe to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwiſe why ſhould the covetous Father in [n] *Libanius* complain ſo heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter) that he could not εἰς λυχνῶ ἢ νύμφιον ἀγαγεῖν, *light the Bride to bed with one and no more.* But for the bearer that it was uſually the Mother, will appear by the diſcourſe that paſſed between *Clytemneſtra* and her Husband in the [o] *Poet*; for when her Husband bid her go back again to *Argos*, and leave her daughter with him; ſhe askt him —τίς δ' ἀναμίξει φλόγα; but:

* Senec. *Thebaid.*

[n] *Declam.* 37.

[o] Eurip. Iph. *in Aul.* v. 7. 34.

but who ſhall carry the Torches then? and being anſwered, ἐγὼ παρέξω φῶς, ὃ νυμφίοις πρέπει, that he meant to doe it himſelf: nay, quoth ſhe, οὐχ ὁ νόμος ὅτος ἢ σὺ ταῦτ' ἤγῃ καλὰ, *that was not the cuſtome, neither do you your ſelf think it to be handſome and fitting.* And indeed, I think, *Clytemneſtra* was wrong'd, for it ſeems to have been reckoned not ſo much the *office* and the *charge* as the *privilege* and the *honour* of the Grecian Woman. And therefore *Medea* made it one of the ſad conſequents of her baniſhment from the company of her Children, to be debarred the bearing of the Torches at their Wedding. *O my dear children, quoth ſhe, what a Wretch am I, who muſt thus leave you before I carry the Torches.*

p Eurip. *Med.* 1025.

p Πεὶν λέκτρα, καὶ γυναῖκα, καὶ γαμηλίους
Ἑωσὰς ἀγῶλαι, λαμπάδας τ' ἀνασχέθειν.

'Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had deſir'd onely to have *lighted* the Torches, ſhe might very well have been blam'd for her paſſion, becauſe then he had done no more than other Fathers uſed to doe. Δᾷδας γαμηλίους ὑπάνθην, *I lighted the Torches,* ſays he in q *Libanius.* But this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they ſhar'd it between them, for the Mothers might doe it too, if we may believe the Authour in theſe words which he puts in *Niobe*'s mouth (but took them out of *Medea*'s upon the death of her Children) Ἐγὼ μὲν λαμπάδα γαμήλιον ὤμλυν προσάψειν (not onely ἀναχήσειν) τοῖς νεογάμοις καὶ τῇ παρθένοις; *I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding,* &c. At *Sparta* there was none of theſe doings, onely the *Pronuba ſhaved* the woman (whether becauſe ſhe had *vowed* to be henceforth her Husband's) and ſo delivered her up to the man (if ſhe had gone among the r *Iſraelites* when ſhe was thus uſed, certainly the people there would have taken her for a *captive* Wife) the *Zona* which the Woman wore was untyed by the Husband in the bed, ζώνη δὲ ὦ ὁ κέτος ὃν ἔδυσαν αἱ παρθένοι, ὃς καὶ ἐκ ἐλύθη πεὶν ἂν ἀπάρθενοι γένοιντο, ſays the *Scholiaſt* upon *Euripides* in *Helena:* certainly the name of Λυσιζώνη might be given to *Diana* as ſeaſonably then as at the time of Child-bearing, and worſhipped ſhe was then as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the

q *Decl.* 35.

r Deut. 21. 12.

Zona

Zona, or whether there were another yet to be unty'd besides this; or whether it was tyed and untyed again; or whether one knot were untyed at first time, and another at the second, there's the *knot* of the question (if we may question for knots in bulrushes. Indeed that there was a *Zona* untyed the Wedding night, I think it may be proved by those words of *Alceſtes*.

Ὦ λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένει' ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ
Κοιδύματ' ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἀνδρὸς. ——

And that there was another left to be untyed at the time of Child-bearing, I have reaſon to conjecture from the *Herculaneus nodus* formerly mentioned; becauſe (I ſuppoſe) they call'd it by that name in alluſion not ſo much to *Hercules* his ſtrength, as if they would have it the *faſter*, that is the ſtronger *ty'd*; as to his happineſs in making of Children, as if they would have it the faſter *unty'd*, as faſt as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had ſeventy Children juſt. After they were both in bed, the Boys and Maids (whom we may call the *Children of the Bridegroom*) ſtood at the Chamber-door, and ſung their ἐπιθαλάμια or γαμήλια, with as great noiſe as poſſibly they could, ἵνα ἡ παρθένος βιαζομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ φωνὴ μὴ ἐξακούεται, ſays the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, ſo that if the Wife ſhould *Cry out* (as we ſay) before her time, ſhe might not be heard. Which they had no ſuch need to doe, if that be true which they ſay, that one of the *Brides* friends, whom they called the † παρανύμφους, uſually did him that good office, to ſtand Sentinel at the door, and keep the women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not ſo much *wedded* to his *pleaſure*, as to be clean *divorced* from his friends; for beſides the feaſt which he made altogether for the woman (called Θεσμοφόρια, by *Iſæus* in his Oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the φράτορας, as his Father-in-law had done before him. This making of Feaſts at Weddings was properly called δεῖπνα τοῦ γάμους, as it is in the Tragedy.

† Pollux. *l.* 3. *c.* 3.

Κ' ἄπειλα δαῖτες τοῦ γάμους ——

And a little before,

Ἐρταῖσ' ἔδυσαν Πηλέως γάμοις θεοί.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work; for they alſo kept a Feaſt of purpoſe for the Women beſides. And therefore ſays * *Clytemneſtra* in the place but now cited,

* Iphig. *in* Aul. v. 707. & 720.

Ἡμεῖς ἡ δοίλαι πᾶ γυναιξὶ δαπανῶν.

The ſaying *aujourdhuy mariè, & demain marri*, to day wedded, and to morrow ſadded, would ſcarce hold true among them. For the day after the Wedding, the Mirth ran as freſh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the houſe in pomp, a Boy in a white Coat walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the rear, with ſuits of Clothes and all ſorts of Houſhold-ſtuff, as Spoons, and Cups, and the like, a cuſtome obſerved by the *Lacedemonians* with ſo much pride and exceſs, that *Solon* was fain to make a Law to reſtrain the Suits to the number of three, and the reſt of the things to a lower price. The gifts then beſtowed, they called ἀπαύλια (as thoſe which I preſented you before, were called ἐπαύλια) and ſometimes διαπαρθένια, as being that which (to ſpeak in *Juvenal*'s words)

Primâ pro nocte datur—

and ſuch gifts *Medea* once ſent by her Children to *Glauca*. But ſo with a vengeance, as ſhe made them ἄδωρα δῶρα, killing her with the Spit, from which ſhe gave her the Roaſt.

* Eurip. *Med.* v. 784.

† Πέμψω γὰρ αὐτοῖς δῶρ' ἔχοντας ἐν χεροῖν
Νύμφῃ φέρουσαι, &c.

‡ Pollux. *l.* 3. c. 3.

And this puts me in mind of ſome that reckon three days for a Wedding, allowing παροίνια for the firſt, ἀπαύλια (when the garment called ἀπαυλιστήρια was given by the Woman to the Man) for the ſecond, and ἐπαύλια for the third.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.

THE time of the *year* which they deemed moſt lucky to marry in (for almoſt every Nation has had their *Nefaſtous* times and days) was the firſt Month of the Winter. (Clean contrary to the cuſtome of the *Perſians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and ſet upon the work of Generation in the Spring.) But though they *chalked* but one part of the year, I hope they did not mark all the reſt with a *coal*, neither can I think they had the ſame opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had onely of the Month of *May*,

[a] *Menſe malas Maii nubere——* [a] Ovid. *l.* 5. *Faſt.*

it may be *malum* by [b] *Plutarch*'s conſent. The beſt day of the *Month*, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moon; that they might be *brought to bed* (as we ſay) the ſooner, and grow the fuller themſelves. But the beſt part of the *day* was the laſt, or the next to the night, and ſo they might *go to bed* the ſooner. Juſt at theſe ſeaſons *Themis* in [c] *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be married to *Peleus*, as appears in thoſe words of hers (and the Poets) [b] *Quæſt. Rom.* 8. 6.

[c] Iſthm. H.

——ἐν δηχομηνίδεσσι
Δὲ ἑπτέραις ἐξαῖδν
Λύει χεν χαλινὸν ὑ——
——φ' ἥρωϊ παρθενίας.

But I make no queſtion, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be born ἐν τετράδι, *quartâ Lunâ*, as *Hercules* had; beſides [d] *Heſiod* is of his opinion that the fourth day (and I believe he means μηνὸς ἰσταμένου of the firſt third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, ſo that no *Oſcinous* bird did *obſcævare* or *occinere*, *ſing another ſong* to the contrary. [d] Ἔργ. *l.* 3.

Ἐν δ' τετράδι μηνὸς ἀγεσθαι εἰς οἶκον ἄκοιτιν
Οἰωνοὺς κρίνας οἱ ἐπ' ἴξμαλι τόπῳ ἄριστοι.

Whereas the ἕκτη μηνὸς (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty days to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad again, especially for the Woman. But I must confess, I rather incline to the judgment of the Goddess, especially having * *Agamemnon* too (a *man*) on my side, who when the question was ask'd, —τίνι δ' ἡμέρᾳ γαμεῖ; made answer,

* Eurip. Iphig. in Av. 717.

Ὅταν Σελήνης εὐτυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλος,

When that blessed season of Full Moon shall come.

I do not find the *Romans* to have been so scrupulous as to think Marriage to be *imperfect*, unless it were at the *full*, or never to be as good as it should be, except it were *in Medio*, like the vertues. 'Tis true, the *Calends* and the *Nones*, and the *Ides*, were days of another *colour*, black and unsuitable with the mirth of a Wedding; and so were all Holy-days whatsoever, and the reason you have given by † *Macrobius* in these words, *Feriis autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare est: Ideo tunc vitantur nuptiæ, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur:* To whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-days, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy-days to any, neither *Religious* days (as they call'd them) to such as intended to Marry, but onely thus: all your *postriduani dies*, that is, the first days after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri*, were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which she could not doe if she married upon the Nones. 'Tis true a *Widow* might be suffered to Marry upon a Holy-day; (and *Varro* will tell you the reason) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the Feast of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Besides having of *non-licet* days, they had a custome to Marry onely upon such a day, as by the judgment of the Astrologer (to whom they sought) ‡ *copulas nuptiales affirmet*. But so much may suffice concerning the *time* of Marriage. I proceed to speak of the qualifications of the persons to be Married.

† *L.* 1. *Sat. c.* 15.

‡ Apul.

CAP.

CAP. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THE Conditions required in a Husband were theſe. Firſt, he muſt be no ſtranger; for if he could be prov'd that he was, both his goods and he too were ſold; and the third part of the price went to the Informer. Secondly, he muſt be no leſs than five and thirty years old, according to the *Law*; and according to [a] *Ariſtotle* two years elder. But according to *Heſiod* a little younger, or a little elder is ſeaſonable enough. [a] *Polit. 7.*

Μήτε πεινήν ων ἑτέων μάλα πολλὸν ἐπ' εἴπων·
Μήτ' ὄπιθεν μάλα πολλά——

Thirdly, if the Woman with whom he was to Marry, were ἐπίκληρος, ſole Daughter and Heir (ſuch a one as *Ariſtophanes in Veſpis* calls ὀπταπαιλίδα or παλῃόχον) he muſt be one of the ſame houſe, and the next of the bloud. But then there always were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) ſome others of the Kindred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the buſineſs with him and plead to the ſame; and then ſuch Women were called ἐπίδικοι, [b] and the whole ſuit Ἀμφισβήτησις. The queſtion was wont to be decided by the *Prætor*. Laſtly, he muſt not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at leaſt he might not be ſo upon pain of being accounted a fellow of *no account*, or repute among the Citizens. For *Charondas* having made this Law, Μήτ' εὐδοκιμείσθω, μήτε μητρυιὰν πρὸς τοῖς πολίταις ὁ πεῖσιν ἄστε μητρυιὸν ἐπάγων, *whoſoever ſhall* ſuper inducere novercam, *let him be* ἄτιμος, *&c.* Beſides the hurt done to the Children (it being as *good to have the Devil to their Dame, as a Stepdame*) gave one pretty reaſon more againſt being the *Husband of two Wives* in this ſenſe, by way of *Dilemma*: you ſhall have his words, as I found them in [c] *Arſenius* his Ἀποφθέγματα Φιλοσόφων, *&c.* ſays he, Εἰτ' ἐπίτυχος γὴμας τὸ πρότερον εὐημερῶν κατάπαυσον, εἰ τ' ἐπίτυχος, μανικὸν τὸ πείρας δὶς λαβεῖν πάλιν, [b] I. Pollux. *l.* 3. *c.* 3. [c] *Moemnbaſiæ Archiepiſc.*

UMI

πάλιν, ἢ γὰρ ἀληθείας ὁ δὶς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς πρήγμασιν ἀμαρτάνων ἄξιον ἂν δικαίως νομίζειν, *If thou hadst good luck in thy first Wife, thou shouldst have kept thee well while thou wast well: if thou hadst not, thou art little better than a Fool or a Madman, to stumble again at the same stone.*

CAP. X.

Quæ requirantur in Uxore.

THE Qualifications required in a Wife were these. First, she must be *free*, before she put her neck in the *yoke*. For otherwise the Marriage was counted συνουσία rather than γάμος, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Hesiod*) κλητὴν ἢ γαμετήν — If she were a stranger, she must pay soundly for it, no less than a thousand δραχμὰς to the City. This Law though it were for a time *let down* by *Pericles* his ill example, yet it was *brought up* again by *Aristophon*. Secondly, she must be six and twenty years of Age. And yet *Aristotle* even in [a] *Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen. Out of indulgence to the Sex surely: for else he thinks it very unfitting they should Marry so young, both because ἐν τοῖς τόκοις πονοῦσι μᾶλλον, *&c. They travell with a great deal more labour, and labour for their travel with a great deal more intemperance*; and also because he had observ'd that in those places where they used to make such haste, ἀτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματα, the Puppies for the most part were blind, not so perfect, or not so big of stature as else they would be. But then there is [b] another who would be willing to let them Marry a year or two sooner than he,

[a] *L.* 7. *c.* 16.

[b] Hesiod. *Oper.*

Ἡ δ' γυνὴ τέτρὰ ἥβῶσα, πέμπτῳ γαμοῖτο.

And [c] another sooner yet (if I do not mistake)

[c] Eurip. *in* Hel. *v.* 12.

Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς ἥβην ἦλθεν, ὡραίων γάμων.

Cùm ad pubertatem venit, tempestivis nuptiis.

Thirdly, she must be but one and no more, according to [d] *Athenæus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reason of the

[d] *L.* 13.

the ſcarcity of men to make the more haſte for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine; whom they made uſe of onely *ad concumbendum*, (for the preſent occaſion) and that Children begotten upon ſuch a Woman were accounted for γνήσιοι, *as good as the beſt*. And what will you ſay, if *Socrates* himſelf made uſe of this liberty? For I have read he did, and that beſides *Xanthippe* the ſhrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the Daughter of *Ariſtides*, of which two it is ſaid, that upon a time they fell out, and were preſently reconcil'd again by their husband, who told them, it was a ſhame for two handſome Women as they were thus to fall out for one unhandſome Man. But * others there be again that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot ſee how the Etymology could hold water, γάμος παρὰ τὸ δύο ἅμα εἶη, unleſs you will have the man to ſtand out. [f] *Hermione* her ſelf, though ſhe were *ſuperinducta* over *Andromache*'s head, did altogether diſlike the increaſe of the number.

* Rhod. Panætius.

[f] Eurip. Androm. v. 177.

——ὡς γὰ καλὸν
Δυοῖν γυναικοῖν ἀνδρ' ἓν' ὑνίας ἔχειν.

Which words of hers were preſently ſeconded by thoſe of the *Chorus*.

Ἐπίφθονόν τι χρῆμα θηλειῶν ἔφυ,
Καὶ ξυγγάμοισι δυσμενὲς μᾶλις' ἀεί.
Such envious things the Women are,
That fellow-wives they cannot bear.

And verify'd they have been, not onely by [g] her own example in conſpiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other ſuch Wives among the Greeks, eſpecially in the Country of *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made uſe of Magical deviſes, eſpecially ſuch as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and ſo conſequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way than [h] *partu retinere maritos*. Thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as ſhe ſuppos'd, and ſo ſhe told the other.

[g] Eurip. *ibi.*

[h] Juven. *Sat.* 2.

——συγγνῶσει γ' ἀνδρὶ φαρμάκοισι σοῖς
Νηδὺς δ' ἀνώμων δεῖ σέ μοι δόλων ἔχειν.

When

When ſuch courſes as theſe are taken,

[f] Juven. *ib.* [i] *Turgida non prodeſt condita pyxide Lyde.*

Neither the keeping of a Spider in a box, nor the laſh of a naked *Lupercus* will doe any good. Fourthly, ſhe might be half a Siſter to the Husband, ſo it be meant not ὁμομήτριον, or ὁμογάστριον, or *uterina*; but onely ὁμοπάτριον, by the Father's ſide, or *germana*, as the word is uſed by *Aemilius Probus*; (whether in its *germane ſenſe* I know not) where he ſpeaks of *Cimon*'s marrying his Siſter *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio ſororem germanam ſuam, nomine Elpinicen, non magìs amore, quàm patrio more ductus: nam Athenienſibus licet eodem patre natas Uxores ducere.* This Act of *Cimon*'s [*] *Athenæus* thinks to have been done παρανόμως contrary to the Laws, and ſo in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* ſays he did it in a publick manner, not onely by making her his Concubine to lye with him, συνεῖναι, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning συνοικία, but συνοικεῖν, taking her into his houſe to live with him; and that for a lawfull cauſe, (as he thought) *viz.* becauſe ſhe was to ſeek of a Husband fit for her condition. But for all this, I do not ſee how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarous*,

[*] *L.* 13.

——πῶς δ' μητρὶ μίγνυται
Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ——

When Son is joyn'd with Mother,
Or Siſter with the Brother.

Unleſs you will maintain the goodneſs of the practice *then*, by the greatneſs of the perſon that uſed it before, I mean *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one Birth and one Bed, (when they pleas'd.) Fifthly, ſhe muſt be no Baſtard, unleſs ſhe were intended for a Baſtard-maker, and in a *Proletarious* manner, onely for *breed*, I mean for a Concubine: for ſuch I take to be little better than what *Talthibius* once ſaid poor *Caſſandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, *viz.* [k] λέκτρων σκότια νυμφεύματα, and the Children little better than σκότια, if the Father were more in the *dark*. As for the Portion or Eſtate, ſhe was either ὁπλήτις, one,

[k] Eurip. *in Troad. v.* 251.

one that had no Brother, and was Heir to the whole Estate: or ἐπίτροικος, that had a Brother, and no more than her part, or a *portion*. The greatest distinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a προίξ, or a portion. Insomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἄπροικος, yet he would have προικῶα, the *Writings*, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the best. Those writings were sign'd and seal'd in the presence of witnesses, and the man did ἐνίκυσέν τι ἀποτιμᾶν, make over to the Woman some House or Land in exchange, and this they call'd [1] ἀπότιμημα. [1] Harpocr.

CAP. XI.

De Divortiis.

AND now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a Month (once for every part; for they divided their Month into three parts,) or else if she were an ἀδήλυος she might go to *another*, unless he were able to excuse himself by a lawfull impediment. Such as coming from Funerals is accounted by *Hesiod* in those words of his:

Μήδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμοιο τάφου ἀπονοσφισθῆναι,
Σπερμαίνειν γενεήν.

Or by any other unseasonableness of time: for that they thought some times more seasonable than other, and some fitter to beget Men-children than Women, may appear by the words of the same Poet: speaking of the sixth day of the middle part of the Month.

Ἀνδρόγονος δ' ἀγαθή, κούρη δ' ὀ σύμφορος ἔστι.

And a little after of two other days.

Ἕβδομη δ' ἀνδρόγονος δεκάτη, κούρη δέ τε τίκτει.

But if they were about any solemn Sacrifice to the Gods, be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either. And therefore at such times they used (as well as the Israelites)

lites) to abſtain altogether, or ἀγῶς ἔχειν, *purè habere*, as the Poet call'd it *in Aſinario*.

Si fortè purè velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an ἔπικληρος were overlaid, or any way abus'd by her Husband, ſhe might have a Writ τῆς κακώσεως ἢ ἐπικλήρου, otherwiſe called εἰσαγγελίαν, and be ſuffered to leave him; and this they called [a] ἀπολείπειν: whereas if the Husband would part with *her*, it was called ἀποπέμπειν, becauſe he might tarry in his own houſe, and be rid of her company nevertheleſs. But one thing I muſt tell you too, that for either party to *leave*, or to *put away* the other, was a thing always very much deteſted among the Grecians. Inſomuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the cuſtome was for ſo many Men and Women to meet in the dark, and every one to *buy his pig in the poke*, the *Ephori* impos'd a mulct upon *Lyſander* himſelf for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But ἀπολείπειν, for the Woman to ſeparate from the Man, 'twas a thouſand times worſe than ἀποπέμπειν, even flat rebellion, or *delinquency* at the beſt. Hear but what [b] *Medea* ſays of it.

[a] *Schol. in* Ariſtoph. *in Equit.*

[b] Eurip. Med. v. 263.

——ἢ γὰρ ἐυκλεεῖς ἀπαλλαγαὶ
Γυναιξίν, ἢν' ὅθ' τ' ἀνήνασθαι πόσιν.

Where ſhe puts it for one of the privileges which the Man enjoys before the Woman, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poor *Wife*, if ſhe be well us'd, 'tis true, ζηλωτὸς αἰὼν— *no life like hers*——εἰ δ' ἄλλ',——*but if ill*——θανεῖν χρεών, *there is no remedy but death*, or *ſhe had better be out of the life*. On the other ſide, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife, or one Husband in all: and what a diſparagement it was to Marry a Second, not onely after the Divorce, but even after the Death of the former, [c] *Euripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alceſtis*, thus threatning her Husband, if he married again, though ſhe were dead,

[c] *In* Alceſt. v. 464.

Εἰ δέ τι κρυφὴν ἕλοιτο πόσις λέχος.
Ἡμαὶ' ἐμοὶ γ' ἂν εἴη συγγενεῖς.

But was it ſo indeed as *Medea* complained, and was the Woman to be miſerable ſtill without any hopes of redreſs? no

no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if ſhe found the Conjugal yoke too ſtrait, and had a mind to ſlip the Collar, ſhe was to make her complaint to the *Archon*: who deputed other Judges to conſider if the cauſe were lawfull, and ſo to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that ſhe engage her ſelf to be bound, never to return to her Husband's houſe again: and when this was done, ſhe might either have her Portion back again from her Husband, or elſe ſerve him with a Writ τῆς ἀφωνίας ὀίτης, or allow her maintenance, and ſo much a Month for uſe, as long as he detained the money.

CAP. XII.

De Mulierum ſceleragogia, & ſervilibus miniſteriis.

BUT now whether the Woman reckon'd it ſufficient cauſe to complain, to be put to ſervile employments, I know not, ſuch abuſes as theſe were many times offered. I do not ſo much ſtand upon keeping of the Keys, or making of the Bread; (whatever [a] *Hecuba* has complained of that employment) but the baſer ſort of ſervices, ſuch as fetching of Water upon their heads: which the poor old Maid in the [b] Poet might juſtly make one of the ſaddeſt parts of her ſlaviſh condition,

[a] *Apud* Eurip. *Troad.* v. 293.

[b] *Id. in Elect.* v. 55.

——τὸ δ' ἄγγος τῷ δ' ὑδρεῦον κόσμῳ
Φέρουσα πηγὰς πολλάκις μεθέρχομαι.

It ſeems the Grecian Women their faſhion of carrying Water, was the ſame that ours is now; nay and the Roman too, for [c] *Ovid* ſays of the Veſtal Virgin her ſelf (*Sylvia* I mean) (when ſhe went to fetch water, and ſlept away her Maidenhead, a good caveat for all ſleepy ſervants.)

[c] *L. 3. Faſt.*

Ponitur è ſummâ fictilis urna Comâ.

And ſo likewiſe I did once conjecture that the men amongſt them uſed to carry Water and other things too, much in the ſame manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, becauſe of that which the Poet ſays

of *Ulysses* his Mariners, when they took in fresh Water in *Sicily.*

——ἀμφὶ δ' αὐχέν
Ταύρῳ φέρουσαι κεναὶ βοείας κεχρημένοις
Κρεάσιος δ' ὑδρηλὰς——

Now whereas I mention'd onely fetching of Water, I might indeed have added, any other work without doors, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other side, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing beseeming to meddle with any thing within doors, or so much as to know what was done there, τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀναπόμπια εἰδέναι ἀπρεπές. It is *Aristotle*'s own *Oeconomicks*, at least κατ' ἐπιδοσιν, though not κατ' ἐπ λέξιν (to use the words of *Tusanus* sometimes professour at *Paris*, who translated into Greek again, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife, the Original being lost, and onely a Latin translation of one *Arrhetinus* left.) And very good reason you will say there is, for *her* to be excus'd from labour abroad, that must keep so close at home, and yet *travell* too: which close confinement made *Medea* thus bemoan the Wife's condition. *If any thing grieve her* (saith she) *she has no more company to make known her grief unto, than μίαν ψυχὴν, her own poor soul: And whereas they object that the Husband goes to War, and does this and that: I for my part,* says she,

[d] Eurip. *in* Med. *v.* 244. *to* 251.

——[d] τρεῖς δ' ἂν παρ' ἀσπίδα
Στῆναι θέλοιμ' ἄν, μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ.
——*Three times to bear a shield*
Thrice better do it think, than once to bear a child.

And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or less, according to her Father's liberality in her Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache* that in this she came *behind* her, though she were otherwise the first Wife: *My Father* (says she) *sent me hither in a liberal manner,*

* Eurip. Androm. *v.* 153.

* Πολλοῖς σὺν ἕδνοις· ὡς ἐλευθεροστομεῖν.

with many a good thing. That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too: Onely you that brought nothing with you must go out of doors. And, *She that cannot pay, must be sure to pray.*

to pray. This argument of hers, her a Witing-maid afterward *bandy'd* back to her again, to put her out of her fear that her Husband would put her away: *For* (ſays ſhe) *he did not take you as a Captive, or ſo, but* [f] Ζωὸ πολλοῖς ἐνῆσαν, *he had ſomething with you.*

[f] *Ib. v.* 872.

CAP. XIII.

De Mulierum honeſtioribus Opificiis.

THE employments moſt uſual and leaſt diſhonourable were ſeeing things handſome and neat in the houſe, and providing for the workmen abroad, take it in *Electra*'s own words,

— [a] τ' ἐν δόμοις δ' ἥμας χρεὼν
Ἐξεργάζειν, εἰσπόλει δ' ἱρηάτη, &c.

[a] Eurip. Elect. *v.* 75.

Or elſe working at any kind of Lanifice, either at [b] ξαϊλικὴ the tozing (ſhall I ſay) or the carding of the Wool? or σημαϊλικὴ, when they went to ſpin out the σήμων or *ſtamen*; and διάζευσις (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the reſt of the Wool; or laſt of all at ὑφαϊλικὴ the Weaving, and joyning the σήμονες together, with the help of the κερκὶς, (the *Pecten* or the Sley like a comb) and the ἄγυιαι, or the λεῖα, ſmooth ſtones (like our ſmooth lace-ſticks, that they might not wear) which hung at the end of the threads. The poſture in Weaving was more anciently [c] ſtanding, but at length (when they were weary) it came to ſitting (with the Romans at leaſt) excepting when they made plain work, *recta* as the Latins call'd it, *down right* with one thread acroſs and no more; for there was ποικιλικὴ too, a great deal of variety in ſome works, as well as ſeveral ſorts of works in the trade; which was the cauſe why [d] *Ion* in *Euripides* when *Creüſa* told him of a Bearing cloth of her own Weaving, askt her of what fort of making it was.

[b] J. Pollux. *l.* 7. *c.* 10.

[c] Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.

[d] *V.* 14. 18.

Πεῖόν τι; πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα.

Unleſs you will confine this ποικιλία to the Virgins (as you may ſeem to have cauſe from the words but now produc'd) and

and the Wives and Mothers (or their Servants for them) to the plainer work. As it is ſaid, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, ſays *Feſtus*, the Parents among them would make their Children none but *plain Clothes*, to ſhew they muſt uſe themſelves to *plain dealing*. And ſeeing weaving was a work well beſeeming the better ſort (as appears in *Creüſa* the Daughter of no worſe man than *Erictheus* a King of *Athens*, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*, if ſhe have put it among her complaints in that verſe,

Αὐτὴ μ' ἐκμοχθῦσι κερκίσι πέπλους.

That ſhe was kept to weaving. For (it may be) her complaint was rather that ſhe could not be her own Woman, and weave for her ſelf, but muſt be ſtill winning and never wearing, and ſtarve in the Cook's Shop. I muſt tell her thus much from * *Ariſtotle*, if ſhe liv'd in a ſtate of levelling Democracy, though ſhe were a married Woman (as ſhe was but πολυχείρι & παιδίν) that or any work elſe would have been thought too much to little purpoſe. For ſays he in ſuch a caſe, τοῖς ἀπόροις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὥσπερ ἀκολούθοις διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, ſhe muſt be forc'd to doe things her ſelf for want of Servants, and ſo there could be no ſuch thing at all as *Gynæconomy*, which might give the Wife any privilege at all.

* *Polit. l. 6. c. 143.*

CAP. XIV.

De Uxorum & Filiarum Occuria.

NOW the Wives beſides their γυναικωνῖτις, (their Bedchamber ſhall I call it, or their Attiring-room, or their Dining-room, juſt as the Men had their ἀνδρῶνες) had their [a] θάλαμον ἰσῶν too, to work in, as the Virgins had their παρθενῶνας to play in, for I fear me, *vuides chambers font dames folles*, and *Agamemnon* is of my mind,

[a] J. Pollux. *l.* 1. *c.* 8.

[b] Καὶ

[b] Καὶ τὰς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ μὴ μόνας εἶναι χρεών. [b] Eurip. Iphig. *in* Aul. *v.* 737.

That Maids at home ſhould not be left alone.

'Tis true they were kept from *gadding abroad.* Inſomuch that a man would think they had Sentinels ſet at their Chamber-doors, by the words immediately following the former,

Ὀχυροῖσι παρθενῶσι φρουρὸν καλῶς.

And if their Daughters, not yet *ſhut* faſt in Wedlock, were kept ſo in ſafe cuſtody, and as it were in Priſon (for which their οἰκήσια, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a ſmall amends) what ſtrong guards think you would they put upon their Wives, when they *ty'd them up?* as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his Daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their [c] Poets:

[c] Ariſtoph. *in* Theſmop.

——ἢ γυναικωνίτιδος
Σφαγίδας ὀπιθοκλείστους, ἢδη κἀμοχλὰς
Τηρεῖν ἡμᾶς, κἀπὶ θυρέτρῃ μολοσσικὰς
Τρέφουσι μορμολύκεια τοῖς μοιχοῖς κύνας.
——*beſides the ſeals*
Upon the Womens Chambers, bars they lay,
To make us ſure; nay more, their Maſtive Curs
They keep to fright Adulterers away.

No wonder then if the Houſe-keepers of *Athens*, were οἰκουροί, Houſe-dogs (as we call them) or *Keep-houſes;* when it was ſo hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. In which ſenſe you may well take that of the ſame Poet in *Lyſiſtrate:* χαλεπὴ γυναικὸς ἔξοδος. For if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were αἰολέξοδοι, of a gadding Goſſipping humour) they muſt be ſure to have the attendance of Maids, and their γυναικεῖος κόσμος, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικόκοσμοι (as they call'd them) Officers of purpoſe, who had power to impoſe a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was [d] poſted up upon a certain Plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to reade. But what do I talk of *going;* whenas Fathers and Husbands

[d] J. Pollux. *l.* 8. *c.* 10.

Husbands were ſo hard or ſo jealous, as not to ſuffer their Wives and Daughters ſo much as to *look* abroad, or if they were ſuffer'd by them, they ſhould be ſure to ſuffer themſelves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione*'s Waiting-maid took up her Miſtreſs ſo ſhort, when ſhe went forth at doors in a paſſion.

* Eurip. *in* Androm. *v.* 876.

* Ἀλλ' εἴσω, μηδὲ φαίνεσθ' ἅδε
Πάροιθε πύλης, μή τιν' ἀλλοίαν λάβῃς
Πρόσθεν ἀγελαίων πύλας δ' ὁρωμένη, τέκνον.
But, pray, get in, and ſhew not thus your ſelf
Before the houſe, &c.

Where, I dare not ſay, the Tranſlatour was *Phantaſtick*, to render φαίνεσθε, *imagineris:* but whatever he ſays, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpoſe. Nay looking out at a window, was almoſt as bad as looking out at door; Καὶ ἐκ θυείδος παρακύπτωμεν (as the Women complain in *Theſmophroriazuſa*, [f] where you may reade more of the grievances) if they did but *peep* out, they would be thought to do it, as other Women us'd to do, and to draw in their head again, the better to draw out the affection of the beholder. Nay farther yet I fear me, ſome of the Daughters had ſcarce the liberty to go out of one room into another, for ſo it was with *Antigone*, when ſhe went up to the top of the houſe to view the Army, as may well be conjectured by the words of her *Padagogue* (a Tutor, ſuch as to whom they committed the bringing up of their Children, Maids or Boys)

[f] Ariſtoph.

ε Eurip. *Phœniſ.* *v.* 88.

ε Ἐπεί σε μήτηρ παρθένωνας ἐκλιπεῖν
Μεδῆκε.

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without *leave*, I know not. I believe they could hardly do it without *company*, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad: for ſo I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* ſays;

Οὐκ οἴη ἅμα τῇ γε κιὴ ἀμφίπολοι δύο ἕποντο.

The Womans own private Chamber, *Gynæconitis*, *Gynæconites*, or *Gynæcon*, (call it what you will) was (ſaith *Didymus*)

δίαιτα,

δικτῷ, two ſtories high, like a neſt, to make it the harder to climb up to them: for (to tell you in his words) οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι τὰ γυναικεῖα ὑπερῷα καὶ θαλάμους καλεσκοδίαζον ὑπὲρ τὰ δυσπρόσβατα εἶδος. The people of ancient times, built their ὑπερῷα their upper Chamber for the nonce. Ὠὰ and ὠιὰ they called them then, inſomuch that *Helena* having been always cloſe bred up in ſuch a Chamber, is thought by ſome to be ſaid to be hatcht by an Egg, either from the *oval* faſhion of the Room, or the like ſignification of the name in the Greek. Whether they went up by the Ladder, or a pair of Stairs, 'tis not ſo eaſie to determine, as it was to get up; for when I call to mind what adoe the *Pædagogue* (whom I laſtly mention'd) had to help up his pupil by the hand, I am apt to think that κλίμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the other to *Gynæcon*, to have been a Ladder, and not a Staircaſe: hear how ſhe cries for help,

Ὄρεγε χεῖρα, ὄρεγε ταχείαν
Νέᾳ χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμάκων
Πόδα τ' ἴχνος ἐπαίρειν.

Such a Κλίμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no ſuch need of help; for

Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν καλεσσήσατο οἷο δόμοιο.

Now a Woman if ſhe went about any work that requir'd expedition, her faſhion was εἰς γόνυ ζώσασθαι, as [h] *Theocritus* ſays, to be *nuda genu*, to pin up her Coat to her knees, but no farther, for fear of being taken for a Doxy. Such a one as in *Heſiod* is called γυνὴ πυρσολόος, me-thinks not ſo well rendred *nates ornata*, as * *ad nates ſuccincta*, from the *ſtola*, too ſhort to become the modeſty of a Woman, or the uſe of the word among the Latins. I might here take occaſion to ſpeak a great deal of their Apparel, and the other many ornaments which they uſed about their heads, their necks, their ears, their arms, and their fingers, and twenty other ſorts of this kind, but becauſe there has been promiſed a draught thereof from a pen able to doe it, I think it better to hold my hands. Beſides, I am of *Pollux* his mind in [i] this, that for a good many of thoſe names which we find in Authours, where they ſpeak of this kind of things, ῥᾴδιον

[h] *Id.* 14.

* Ἀναστειρωμένη.

[i] *L.* 5. *c.* 2.

τὰς ἰδέας συντιθῆσι, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ φέγγεσθαι εἰ πρὸς καλιδᾶν, εἴτε σκωπτάζοντες, εἴτε παίζοντες χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασι, 'tis hard to know what fashion the *things* were of; becausе it is hard to tell whether the Authour be in jest or in earnest in the *names.*

CAP. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a Man had plow'd in another Man's ground, though not as a *Mœchus manifestarius,* [a] but by enticements, and in a clancular way, and were taken ἐν ἔργῳ (as they call'd it) *in the fact*; it was counted so much the worse, and he that found him, might abuse him as much as he pleas'd: yea and kill him too, if the Cuckold did desire it, (and no doubt, but sometimes he had *hay in his horns.*) If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himself, he might have him before the *Thesmothetæ,* and cause him to be punished at the pleasure of the [b] Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an Adulterer, has as little modesty as the crime it self. It was called either πυγιλισις or ῥαφανιδωσις, *synecdochically,* the part for the whole; for having pluck't off the hair of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Mullet into his fundament, according to that of *Juvenal,*

——*quosdam mœchos & mugilis intrat:*

Insomuch that ever after he was disgracefully call'd εὐρύπρωκτος. A punishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say, that *Solon* is thought to have tolerated the publick use of Harlots, (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it. And for the Woman, having thus violated the Laws of the Gods (or the Men rather, for *they* were better) she was not onely forbid to go to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire, which other Women wore, it was lawfull for any that met her to take them, and tear them; and if her Husband lay with her after, he was branded for ἄλιτρος, *a base Companion.*

[a] Plaut. *in Bacchid.*

[b] Poll. c. 9.

nion. On the other ſide, if the women were forc'd, and openly abus'd, the Adulterers puniſhment then was no more than a *fine.* And you will not ſo much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you conſider how the others commit Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the woman; and is ſo much the more dangerous of the two, as he that works by a Mine, or can get in a private way, than he that muſt break the door. For proof whereof, if the Adultery of *Ægiſthus* and *Clytemneſtra,* which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon,* be not ſufficient, I refer you to that practice of *Sejanus*; who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Druſus,* had no other way to be reveng'd; *Cuncta tentanti* (ſays [c] *Tacitus*) *promptiſſimum viſum ad Uxorem ejus Liviam convertere: hanc, ut amore incenſus, adulterio pellexit, ad conjugii ſpem, conſortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had raviſht a young Woman, (ſo ſhe were free born) his [d] puniſhment was a fine, *viz.* a thouſand *Drachmæ:* but then beſides that, he was to marry her too (unleſs it could be made appear ſhe had taken ſomething of him in conſideration;) which puts me in mind of a ſtory of the *Meſſenian* in *Pauſanias,* who to compell *Ariſtodemus* to give him his Daughter to Wife, pleaded that he had brought her with Child: whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kill'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worſe than *Virginius.* There was a time when a raviſher of a Virgin was to be ſton'd ſhall I ſay, or preſs'd to death, for they called ſuch a puniſhment λᾶινθ' χλοὼν, as ſome upon theſe words of *Homer,*

Λᾶινον ὄυνο χλοῶνα πυκᾶν ἐπιχ' ὄκκα ἔοργας.

[c] *L. 4. Annal.*

[d] Iſæus *pro* Pyrrh.

LIBER QUINTUS.

CAP. I.

De Puerperarum Religione, &c.

THE *Athenians* (says *Plutarch* in his *Marriage-exhortations*) had three sacred plowings. One in the *Sciron*, another in the *Raria*, and another called *Buzygion*: but yet, says he, Ὁ πάντων ἱερώτατός ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος καὶ παιδοποιός, καὶ ἄρρην ὁ τῶν παίδων τεκνώσει, *The plowing for Children is the best Husbandry.* In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very suitable to a *Conjugal* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greeks of ἄρουρα, and Ἄρηρα, and Αὔλαξ, concerning the Women. For as [a] *Aristotle* says in his *Politicks*, Ἀπολαύουσι φαίνεται τὰ γινόμενα τῆς ἐχέσης, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ φυόμενα τῆς γῆς· as also with the use of the word ἀρῆν for to *beget*, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἠρῶσι, and in his *Antigone* ἀρώσιμον in the same sense. So *Aristænetus* [b] in one of his Epistles (speaking of a Woman to be Married) says ὑπ' ἀρότῳ παίδων. And *Moschus* hath an *Epigram* of purpose upon Ἔρως Ἀροτεύων. The Latin word *Sator* answers very well to it, and so would *Insitor* to the word βλάστη, *a bud*, and βλαστάνειν, so commonly used in *Sophocles*, and other Authours in the same sense. Now for a Woman with Child, it was sometime the custome for about forty days before her time, to abstain from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotle*'s [c] advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with Child, to go every day in Pilgrimage a certain journey, to doe service to one or other of the Gods

[a] *L. 7. c. 17.*

[b] *L. 1. Ep. 18.*

[c] *Loco prædict.*

Gods of Generation, ὧν εἰλυχόων τ' ἀεὶ τ' γενέσεως τιμὴν, and his reaſon was, that they might not ῥαθυμεῖν grow *unluſty* by ſitting ſtill, but by this kind of *travelling* prepare their body for a worſe, as *Plutarch* ſays *Lycurgus* cauſed the Maids of *Sparta* to uſe the exerciſes of wreſtling, and coiting, and ſhooting, and the like, that by this means having confirm'd their own health and ſtrength, they might make the ſtronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας, *wreſtle with the throws.* The principal God whom they pray'd unto, eſpecially in the time of travel was *Diana*, called by them Εἰλείθυια ἀπὸ τῆ ἐλθεῖν, from the readineſs to come to the Woman at a call, or a *crying out.*

——[d] *Aperire portus* [d] Horat. *Carm. Sæc.*
Lenis Ilithyia——

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and a handineſs or *dexterity*, and willingneſs to perform, ſhe was worſhipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, *Quoniam putarent facilè Conceptam alvum egerere*, ſays *Feſtus*, and ſometimes under the name of *Facilina.*

——* *Facilinæ Templa Dianæ.* * Sil. Ital.

Either *à face*, becauſe ſhe was painted with a Torch in her hand; (as if ſhe did but *hold the Candle* to it) and ſo was *Ilithyia* by the *Greeks*, ὅτι γυναῖξὶν ἐν ἴσῳ ϗ πῦρ εἰσὶν αἱ ὠδῖνες, (ſays *Pauſanias in Arcadicis*) becauſe the pains of Travel are ſo *hot*: or elſe from *facilis*, *eaſie and without difficulty to be won.*

——[f] *Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.* [f] Ovid. *Faſt. l.* 2.

Being likewiſe for the ſame reaſon called by the Greeks Προδυρσία· as by *Orpheus*, by whom ſhe is alſo termed Θηλειῶν Σώτειρα, and ὠδίνων Ἐπάϊγος, and Ὠκυλοχεία, becauſe ſhe ſtood ſtill ready as it were *at the door*; and was always at *hand* to doe the work of a *Hand-woman* ——*tu voto parturientis ades.* Or, laſtly, from *facilis*, *eaſie*, *and without pain*, becauſe ſhe gave the woman *facilem partum*, as he ſays.

Ut ſolvat partus molliter illa ſuos.

For the ſame cauſe they gave her alſo the title of Γενέθλιος, as the Latins did that of *Genitalis.*

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis.

To

To this purpoſe I remember a jeſt related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Epheſus*, near about the time that *Alexander* was born: *Non eſſe mirandum, quòd Diana occupata in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravidâ domo abeſſet: That it was no wonder, becauſe Diana was taken up in helping Olympia.* And yet this jeſt (as *dry* as it is) *Plutarch* is ſo far from liking, that he ſays it was *cold* enough to have extinguiſh'd thoſe flames. Laſt of all ſhe was alſo called Φωσφόρος, *quaſi* τῆς εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐλεύσεως τῶν βρεφῶν ἔφορος, ſays the [g] *Scholiaſt*, as much as to ſay *Lucifera* or *Lucina*. For by this name ſhe was moſt of all adored by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid*:

Dicite, tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dediſti:
Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

[g] Ariſtoph. *in Luciſt.*

Now this *Lucina* (ſaith [h] *Cicero* was nothing but the Moon: *Luna à lucendo nominata eſt, eadem eſt enim Lucina.* And the Moon being (as [i] *Varro* ſaith) *naſcentium dux*, was therefore worſhipped by the women in travel, *quòd partus maturescant ſeptem aut nonnunquam novem Lunæ curſibus*: or becauſe the Moon by the *filling* and opening moiſture of her influence *graviditates & partus afferat, maturitatéſque gignendi*, as the *Oratour* ſaid in the ſame place. If you chance to meet with a *Plural number*, as you have in *Homer* —μογέοντας Εἰλειθυίας, and in *Ariſtotle*, Θεὸς τοὺς εἱλληχότας, *&c.* you may take it to be in reference onely to ſeveral names of one and the ſame *Diana*, and in eſpecial manner to thoſe three, *viz. Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, and *Proſerpina* beneath, in regard to which the Women among the Latins uſed to call her *Diva triformis*; in their prayers at the time of Child-bearing,

[h] *L. 2. de Nat. Deor.*

[i] *L. 4. de ling. Lat.*

Qua laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimísque letho
Diva triformis.

Diana ſhould be a Gentlewoman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I ſaid; for that was the ground, or the principal name: all the other names ſeem to be but the deſcant, or ſo many *Epithets*, and *Sirnames* upon it. So in *Euripides* his *Hippolytus* you have,

Τὰν

Τὰν δ' εὔλοχον Οὐρανίαν
Τέξων μελίνυσα
Ἄρτεμιν,

In another Tragedy, Ποθῶσ' Ἄρτεμιν λοχείαν, and φωσφόρῳ θυσειν θεᾷ. Ἄρτεμις or *Diana* ſtands ſtill the Subſtantive, and all the reſt hang like ſo many Adjectives. Beſides theſe to the Moon, they talk of other Sacrifices to they know not whom themſelves, whom they worſhipped by the name of Τεττοπάτρες, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briarens* ſay ſome. So many winds ſays one [k] (that which is thought to be meant by the Giants in the Fables.) But what have women to doe with the wind? it can blow *them* no good, but a *Tympany*; and ſo puff them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *Amalcides*, *Protoclias*, and *Photocreon*; and *Philochorus* ſays, they were the three firſt men that were begotten. And here I muſt tell you of ſomewhat to be done by the Husband too, for he was to ſacrifice to the Nymphs, and to pray to them then for the bringing forth of the Child, as he was afterwards to give them thanks for bringing it *up*. And thus much I conjecture by thoſe words of *Oreſtes*, when one told him that he ſaw *Ægyſthus* ſacrificing to the Nymphs.

[k] *Etymol. Dictionar.*

[l] Τροφεῖα παίδων, ἢ πρὸ μέλλοντ' ἐν τόκῳ;
For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

[l] Eurip. *Electr.* v. 616.

CAP. II.

De Puerperio, ſeu fœtu Maſculo.

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpoſe for that uſe I cannot tell; neither durſt I conclude as much by the λόχοι δάλαμοι in *Euripides*, where ſpeaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he ſays,

[a] Λοχίους δ' αὐτίκα νιν
Δέξαλο δαμίοις.

[a] *In Bacch.* v. 98.

At the time of travel, they were wont to take *Palm* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a virtue

virtue either to *conquer* the pain, (for a Palm branch was a token of *Conqueſt*) or to make them *bear up* under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a Palm branch go downward) according to that of *Theognis*:

——Θεὰ τέκε πότνια Λητὼ
Φοίνικ' ἠδ' ῥαδινὰς χεῖρε τανυσσαμένη.

I do not reade that ever before travel they ſtood in fear of ſuch things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as St. [b] *Auſtin* ſays) ſuppos'd thoſe Hobgoblins *improbos ſæpe extitiſſe mulieribus, & earum appetiſſe, ac peregiſſe concubitum.* Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpoſe to ſit up all night, one with an Ax, and another with a Peſtle, and another with a Broom, cutting, and beating, and ſweeping at the threſholds to keep [c] *Sylvanus* off from coming to hurt the Woman for having a Child without him: I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it happened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the *building* of their houſe? (as the Hebrew phraſe is) for *partu viri fundavit familiam*, ſays [d] *Apuleius*, ſuch a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof, Κίονα δόμων, ſays *Lycophron* of *Hector*, and Τροίας ἄμαχον κίονα, ſays *Pindar* of the ſame. *Iphigenia* her ſelf, when ſhe dreamt of the fall of a Houſe, could interpret the Pillars for ſo many Sons. For ſays ſhe,

Στύλοι γὰρ οἴκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες.
The Males are Pillars of a Family.

And very good reaſon the men ſhould bear the name of the Pillars of the Houſe, if the Pillars of the Houſe can bear the names and figures of the men; as they do many of them to this day. *Names* they made choice of the beſt, ſuch as Ἄτλαντες among the Greeks, and *Telamones* among the Latins: but indeed the *figure* was commonly of the worſt, with a bunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibboſi*, according to that in *Martial*:

——*ridetur Atlas cum compare Gibbo.*

Beſides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar in ſtead of a *Statue*, or the Image of a Man.

[b] *De Civ. Dei. l.* 15. *c.* 22.

[c] *Ibid. l.* 6. *c.* 9.

[d] *L.* 10. *Met.*

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child ſo ſoon as it was born, was waſht in Water (or elſe in Wine, if they follow'd the [a] *Lacedemonian* faſhion, and deſir'd to *prove*, ſhall I ſay, or to *improve* the ſtrength of the Infant.) Of this waſhing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus,

[a] Plut. *on* Lycurg.

Poſtquam peperit pueros, lavare juſſit, nos occapimus.
Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus eſt & multum valet!

And ſo likewiſe in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the Child, as well as the Mother) where he ſpeaks of *Priamus* his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather than *Hecuba* her Siſter, and her Son *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but onely bid him kill ἅ τε τεκοῦσαν καὶ τὸ βλαστάνειν, the Mother and the Child, he did it ſays he,

Πεὶν ἐμὲ λοχείαις χυτὰ χυλωθῆναι δρόσῳ.

From which verſe (after I have ſtarted the queſtion how he came to be called *Munippus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occaſion given to tell you more of this matter. For the Scholiaſt notes upon the word χυλωθῆναι, that after they had waſht the body with Water (heated I ſuppoſe it was; and uſed onely for the cleanſing of the body) they anointed it with Oil, kept in a χύτλον, or a Veſſel ſo called, which they had for that purpoſe. The reaſon I believe to be the ſame, for which they did it at other times upon the elder ſort, *viz.* Ἵνα οἱ πόροι ὑπὸ θέρμης ἀνεωχθέντες κλεισθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλαίου ὑπαψυχθέντες, as the [b] Scholiaſt hath it) to cloſe up the pores again, after they had been open'd by the hot Water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of anointing, was ſo conſtantly uſed juſt after the waſhing, that you ſhall have the word χυλωθῆναι, ſometimes uſed to ſignifie the ſame, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymn* upon *Jupiter*.

[b] *In* Ariſtoph. *Plut.*

—ἐπεὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπεθήκατο κόλπων
Αὐτήνᾳ δίζηλο ῥέον ὕδατος, ὄφρα τάκοιο
Λύματα χιλαώτοιο——

[c] L. 9. Dionys. In alluſion to this χιτλωσις [c] *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus* ἀχιτλωσιον λοχειλω. For coming from ſo clean a place as *Jupiter*'s thigh, he had no great need of waſhing.

CAP. IV.

De Cunabulis, &c.

THE Child being waſhed, it was wrap'd in a Cloath Woven for the purpoſe by the Mother in the time of her Virginity, as may be conjectured by that which *Creüſa* made for *Ion*. In this Cloath the *Erecthidæ* wrought the Image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva*'s *Aegis*, by the help whereof *Perſeus* had cut it off. Beſides the likeneſs of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva*'s own command, and in memory of *Erictho-nius*: who being born of nothing but *Vulcan*'s ſeed ſpilt on the ground in forcing of the Goddeſs, and having feet like a Dragon was expoſed and committed by her, to the cuſtody of two vigilant Dragons.

[a] Eurip. *in Ion.* v. 25. & 14, 27.

[a] —ὅθεν Ἐρεχθείδαις ἐκεῖ
Νόμος τὶς ὅδιν, ὄφεσιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις
Τρέφειν τέκνα.

ſays the Poet: and from thence came the cuſtome I ſpeak of. And yet perhaps neither thoſe Dragons, nor the o-others in imitation of them, were any thing elſe but emblems, uſed by the authours to expreſs the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the Child; for ſo they are like to have been aſſigned for keepers of other things too; as of the Apples of the *Heſperides*, *&c.* and that becauſe of their quickneſs of ſight, according to *Feſtus*: *Dracones dicti* ἀπὸ τῆ δρακεῖν, *quod eſt videre: clariſſimam enim habebant oculorum aciem, quâ ex causâ incubantes eos theſauris cuſtodiæ causâ finxerunt.* Being wrap'd in

in the Cloath instead of being put in a Cradle, it was either laid upon a *Clypeus*, as an *omen* of fortitude in time of War; (and thus was *Hercules* himself, and the *Lacedemonians* generally used; thus also the * *Celtæ* used the Children when they threw them into the *Rhene.)* or else upon a *Vannus or Ventilabrum quod alimentorum copiæ & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant*, says *Rhodiginus*, as an *omen* of peace and plenty.

* Strabo. *l.* 7.

CAP. V.

De Infantis gestatione circa focum, & de nominis impositione.

WHEN the Child was five days old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the house. At the same time the custome was for the Midwives to wash their hands. Now in token of *joy* for having a Child, the Parents bedecked their house with Garlands: and in *congratulation* the kindred that intended to be at the *naming Feast*, sent their ῥοδάλινοι δόσεις (as *Æschylus* calls them in *Eumenides)* before, as they have used to doe with us at *Christenings*. The things which they sent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepiæ*; whether as rarities, or for what reason, I am yet to seek. The verses of *Eubulus* cited by *Athenæus*, *c.* 2. speaks as if those things were not kept till the Feast, but us'd the same day, as likewise Doves, and Thrushes and Coleworts with Oil, and tosted pieces of *Chersonesus Cheese*, and I know not what: the whole solemnity of the day is called Ἀμφιδρόμια, and so is the *Genius*, or ῥοδάλινος θεὸς, θεὸς Ἀμφίδρομος, from the running about the hearth (which it seems was plac'd in the midst of the room) or as we may call it, *Dancing about our cold fire*, for we reade of no more but the hearth: but surely there must be a fire, for *Hesychius* says, those that carried the Child must be naked. The Naming-feast which I mention'd, was kept upon the seventh day after the Birth, says [a] *Aristotle*: and this reason is, because

[a] *L.* 7. *de Hist. An.*

that day was obſerv'd to be very critical to moſt things, τὰ πλεῖστα ἢ ἀναιρεῖται πρὸς τῆ ἑβδόμῃ, and therefore, ſays he, when that day came, if they perceived the Child to be well, *then* they preſently gave it a name, ὡς πεπεισμένοι μᾶλλον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, as preſuming it would continue ſo. But (with reverence be it ſpoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth *night* rather) becauſe the Feaſt which they kept was called δεκάτη, and thoſe which then ſacrific'd (for that was to be done firſt) were ſaid δεκάτην θύειν, or δεκάτην ἑστιᾶσθαι: and at the ſame Feaſt (ſays *Suidas*) were the kindred wont to meet all together, to be witneſſes (as we call it) to the naming of the Child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Again, beſides the authority of a Scholiaſt upon the word δεκάτη (in *Avibus Ariſtophanes*,) I have the plain teſtimony of the Poet himſelf in the ſame Comedy in another place; where he brings in *Piſtheteros* thus ſpeaking of *Athens*, in an alluſion to the cuſtome,

Οὐκ ἄρα θύω τῇ δεκάτην ταύτην ἐγὼ
Καὶ τὠνομ' ὥσπερ παιδίῳ νυῶ δὴ δέμας.

[b] Euſt. *in Il.* 5. Now a [b] Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his Children: but uſually the eldeſt Son was called by the name of the Grandfather. I cannot ſay that they kept this name and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the Daughter of *Proteus* when ſhe came to be elder and wiſer, aſſumed the name of *Theonoe*; * thus *Leucippe* when ſhe was bought, was new-nam'd *Lacæna*; and *Iſmenias*, *Atraces* when he became enſlav'd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Maſters, who preſently gave them new, ſuch as they thought fit. Either from the Countrey, [c] ὁ Σῦρος, or the colour and complexion, as ὁ ξανθίας or ὁ πυῤῥίας, or ſome good quality in him, as ὁ πιστός, and ὁ Ῥώμων, or elſe from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νεομηνίας. At *Rome* the Maſter gave them a name of their own: but 'twas when they ſet them free, and ſo a [d] new name was a token of liberty too: or of ſomething better, as of an adoption, (when

*Achil. Tat. *l.* 5. Euſtat. *l.* 9.

[c] Phoc. *Biblioth. Cod.* 279.

[d] *See* Rev. 2. 17.

(when the adopters name was the better of the two) or ſome other good fortune: which made him in *Lucian* when an Eſtate fell to him, to change his name from *Simon*, to *Simonides*: and thus they took new names when they came to be made Kings; as among the *Perſians*, &c. or Gods, as every where beſides, which appears in thoſe names of *Palæmon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum Luſtrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though ſome ſay it was done after the firſt nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* Λυσιζώνη, (*Cinxia* you may call her in Latin) and her Clothes too (ſays *Callimachus*) to *Diana* Χιτώνη. Untill ſhe were purified, ſhe was as carefully ſhun'd, as any Woman of the Jews, inſomuch that reckoning her among the μιάσματα they loathed to go into the houſe where ſhe lay, as much as if ſhe had lain for dead: or if they had happened to go in unwittingly or by conſtraint, when they came forth again, they would be ſure to waſh; whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, ἀπό τε κήδους καὶ λεχοῦς καὶ μιάσματος παιδὸς· which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*; when bemoaning the condition of *Oreſtes*, whom the *Scythians* deſigned for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, ſhe ſpake her mind ſo plainly in relation to her curiouſneſs, to have no body come near her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a Slaughter, or a Funeral, *&c. I deſie* (ſays ſhe) *the hypocriſie of that Goddeſs whatever ſhe be, that ſhall take delight in the murthering of men, and yet notwithſtanding out of purity, forſooth, ſhall forbid ſuch and ſuch to come near the Altars:*

[a] βροτῶν μὲ μὴ τις ἅψηται φόνου
Ἢ καὶ λοχείας, ἢ νεκροῦ δίγη χρεών,
Βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μυσαρὸν ὡς ἡγουμένη.

[a] Iphig. *in Taur.* v. 380.

A Say-

A Saying ſo cutting to the folly of the beſt of the Heathen Theology, that it would have ſounded very well from the mouth of a Chriſtian. For *Thucydides* ſays, that the *Athenians*, for fear the holy Iſle of *Delos* ſhould by this means be polluted, made a Law, that no Woman ſhould lie in for Child there, but ſhe muſt be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Iſland near adjoyning. What day ſhe was purified in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the queſtion put in *Euripides*,

Λέγ' ἡλίκης ἐν εἶσιν ἀγυιάσι λιχὼ.

Whether it were at the time of the πεντηκόστος, the Feaſt that was kept at the forty days end (for ſo many days ſhe was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐν δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, when the Child was a *ten-night* old, (as we ſay a ſeven-night, counting nothing but the nights: for I do not think it is the tenth *Month*) I do not well know: but *Electra* ſays it was ſo,

Δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς ὡς νομίζεται.

Whenſoever the time was, the Woman, after ſhe had waſh'd away her λύματα in the River (as *Rhea* did hers in the River *Lymax* ſo called from [b] thence) ſhe her ſelf was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a Child: and her Husband to the Nymphs for helping him to ſuch a Wife: or both (if you will) to return their thanks, that the Child came in its due time. And this one calls παιδὸς ἀεισμὸν πλεσφόρον θύειν. It may be in caſe of weakneſs, or if ſhe were ignorant of Rites (as ſhe might be at the firſt) another did it for her, as *Clytemneſtra* did for *Electra* upon her requeſt. But indeed it ſhould be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemneſtra* her ſelf confeſſed,

[c] Ἄλλης τόδ' ἔργον, ἢ σ' ἔλυσ' ὠδὶν πόκων.

During her lying in, the greateſt part of her food was Colewort.

[b] Pauſan. *in* Ach.

[c] Eurip. Electr. v. 11, 28.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurſes, during the time of ſucking, were called τίτθαι (from τίτθοι the ſame that μαστοὶ the papps) but after they came to be Weaned (ἀπογαλακτίζεσθαι) τροφοὶ dry Nurſes. Now the cuſtome was for the Nurſes (the better to harden the Children *uſu liberioris* * *auræ*, and to make the Nurſes the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the Children abroad in the ways, and in the ſtreets: and in caſe they ſhould be unquiet, the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of *Ariſtophanes*,

* Rhodig. ex Plat.

Δός μοι χυτείδιον ἀπονίψω βεβυσμένον.

ſays, they were wont to have a ſpongefull of honey, in a little pot always ready for the purpoſe. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedemonian* the fitteſt for a Nurſe, (and ſuch a one *Alcibiades* had himſelf.) Or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were ſo proud, that they counted it a diſparagement to them to be Nurſes themſelves. And therefore the Woman in *Demoſthenes*, when it was objected to her, that ſhe had ſometimes uſed this baſe employment, was fain to excuſe it by the neceſſity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. And ſo likewiſe you ſhall find *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complaining of her unhappineſs, that ſhe muſt be forced to ſuch an office as this was. When they would *lull* (as we call it) or *lall* a Child aſleep, they uſed *lallare* to cry, λάλα, or βαυκαλᾶν, to ſing ſongs to it. Their ſongs they called καλαβαυκαλήσεις, and ſometimes ναίνια. (For ſo is *nænia* uſed in the Latin too, as in *Arnobius, lib. 7. Somno occupari ut poſſint leves audiendæ ſunt nænia.*) ſuch a kind of ſong is that in *Theocritus*,

Εὕδεις' ἐμὰ βρέφεα γλυκερὸν κὴ ἡδύσμιον ὕπνον,
Εὕδεις' ἐμὰ ψυχὰ, δ' ἀδελφεὸ, εὖσα τέκνα.
Ὄλβιοι ἐννάζοιδε κὴ ὄλβιοι ἀῶ ἴκοιδε.

For thus they were wont to νανουρίζεσθαι to the Child, calling it alſo ſometimes πωδὸν or πωδωνίδα, or σμοιδουδίδα, and the like.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De expositione Infantum.

BUT we shall have no need to trouble our selves to get Nurses, if the Child either dye of it self, or be *exposed* to dye by the Parents. If it dye in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth, says *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold burial without any fire, or any funeral sacrifice or solemnity in Mourning or otherwise. As being (in the words of [a] *Juvenal*) *minor igne Rogi*. Which practice is by *Plutarch* in his *Consolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perswade her not to grieve for the death of her Child, says he, ἐπὶ μὲν παιδὸς ἡ πολυτελείας παυηγυεικῆς οὐδὲ ἡ ταφὴ. The custome of *exposing* Children, which the Grecians call ἐκτιθέναι, with the people of ancient times was very usual; it was exercised upon such Children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We [b] reade indeed that *Moses* was used thus, because he was טוב or a goodly Child: but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, than *exposed* to the River. This practice was in most places at the pleasure of the Parent. But at *Sparta*, I reade, that they took better advice: for there they had a Committee of purpose, called by them λέσχαι, appointed to examine every Child, whether it were εὐπαγὴς ἢ ῥωμαλέον, *sound*, or not. The places where they exposed them, were sometimes Rivers and Lakes, such as *Moses* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Unkle *Æmilius*, sometimes a Sink or a Gutter, according to that in *Juvenal*.

[a] *Sat.* 6.

[b] Exod. 7. v. 2.

—— votáque sæpe
Ad spurcos decepta lacus ——

sometimes a deep Pit, such as the *Lacedemonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, sometimes Woods and desart places, such as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* says: *& in alta nemora pabulum misit feris Avidis ——* and sometimes the wide Sea, as *Justin* says of one *Habides*, (if that be his name,) *Gargoris Habidem nepotem suum in mare projici jussit.* If a Child were exposed

expoſed any where upon the Land, after they had ſwathed it τοῖς σπαργάνοις, *faſciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot ſome would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria*,

——*verum vidi Cantharum,*
Suffarcinatum.

As if it were *Suffaſciatum*. Whereas others would have you reade it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *ſuffarcinatam*, for as much as *ſuccinctam*. It is ſometimes called ὄσχακον, as by *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, where he ſpeaks of *Oedipus* thus,

——αὐτὸν γυρόμψον
Ἐξέθεσαν ἐν ὀσχάκῳ——

And ſometime χύτρα, ſays the Scholiaſt upon the ſame place, whence comes χυτρίζειν, *exponere*. What kind of thing that ἀνάπτυξ was, wherein *Creüſa* expos'd her Baſtard in a Rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot ſo well determine. *Euripides* ſays it was ἄγγος, *a veſſel*, and that *Ion* the Child was wrapt up in a skin, or a leather, and put into it, according to that,

——ἀναπτύξας σκύτος
Εἰλικτὸν ἀνάπτυγος.

Methinks it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly ſo than *Moſes* his תיבת can be: for firſt he ſays there was σκύτος εἰλικτὸν skin or leather; roll'd or folded up, ſuch as ſome of our Cheſts have. 2. It was faſten'd or lock'd of one ſide: ἀνάπτυξ from ἀνὰ and πτύσσω, as our trunks are. 3. It was round alſo, and fit to be tumbled as he ſays,

— καὶ κάθησον ὡς ἐλαύμψον
Κοίλης ἐν ἀνάπτυγος εὐλεύχω κύκλῳ.

And for ἄγγος, that will ſerve well enough for any ſuch thing, as well as *vas*, or a *veſſel*. If the Child were expoſed on the Water, it was uſually put in a thing made like a Basket, made of Oziers, or Bulruſhes, dawb'd and clos'd with Slime and Pitch, ſuch as that we reade of in * *Exodus*. But though they thus ſet him *out* to the mercy of fortune, they would be ſure to ſet him forth too, in the beſt manner they could, with rings, and jewels, and garlands, and many

* C. 2. v. 3.

pretious ornaments, either in a way of mourning to doe as they did to the dead, according to that,

[c] Eurip. Ion. v. 26.

—[c] ὦ ἔτεκε παρθένου χλιδὴν
Τέκνῳ φερσαίμασ' ἔλιπεν, ὡς θανεῖδῴη.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it so lying, and would [d] *take it up* (as they call it) he might have his ἐκτεία, or θρεπτήρια, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand: and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would bestow the pains, to bestow the cost too in the burying, according to that in

[d] *Tolleret.*

[*] *Heauton. Act. 4. Sc. 1.*

[*] *Terence,*

—*cum exponendam do illi, de digito annulum*
Detraho, & eum dico ut unà cum puella exponeret;
Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

These παίγνια, or *crepundia*, most commonly were fastned about their necks, and were therefore called περιδέξαια, as they were likewise called γνωσίσματα, for they were many times bottles and bells, and such like toys, (and so you must distinguish betwixt ornaments and marks) because they were for another end yet besides the former, *viz.* ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῆται (says [f] one) not to adorn him, but to mark him so as to know him again, and to set the Parents name therein, as we use to fasten Collars and such like things, about the necks of our Dogs: and it may be the rattle-bels were fastned to find him by the noise, as we do our Hawks. For you must know, every Child that was exposed, was not exposed with this intent to be killed (as some would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different) for many times they did it to hide it onely, out of fear it would be killed, if it were not exposed (as it was with *Moses:*) and sometimes (if it were a Bastard) they put it out of purpose to have some body nurse it, for if she bred it up her self, every body would know it. Besides, when they were exposed with that intent, the Parents for the most part had not their ends, for none have proved more famous men than such as were exposed, as might be made appear by sundry examples. At the best, exposing, in my mind, was very hard dealing; and therefore the *Thebans* whom *Ælian* com-

[f] Dio Chrysost.

commends for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it, and ſo did the Romans too afterwards: among whom no expoſed Child could be free of the City. And yet *Ariſtotle* could afford to preſcribe it, ἕνα νόμον μηδὲν τεθραμμένον τρέφειν. But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Phyſicks*, i. e. his natural affection. Our *putting out* Children to Nurſe, many times proves little better than expoſing. Another way there was of carrying a Child into another Countrey, where it might live in ſecret, and ſecure from an enemy, as *Oreſtes* did *Phocis*, from the rage of *Ægyſthus*. And therefore *Sophocles*, ſpeaking of his manner of life in his youth, calls it κρυπτὸν ἦθος, and ſo you might have called him νόθον τεθραμμένον, in the words of *Lycophron*: but enough of expoſing. I will proceed to ſpeak of the cuſtoms they uſed in education: onely, becauſe their practice was different according to the birth of the Child, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak a word firſt of the ſeveral ſorts of Children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diverſitate.

ACcording to the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, there were four ſorts of Sons. 1. Ὁ γνήσιος, or ἰδιογνώτης, in Latin *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς οἵης καὶ γαμετῆς, the Son of a married free Woman. 2. Ὁ νόθος, *qui Latinè reddi non poteſt*, ſays * *Quintilian*, the Son either of a foreign Woman, or a Concubine; ſuch a Son, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to doe with the name, or the kindred of his Father, διὰ τὸ τὴν νόθον μὴ ἔχειν ἀγχιστείαν, ſays *Ariſtophanes*: [a] and if the caſe were thus when the *Mother* was a ſtranger, how juſt a cauſe had *Ion* in the Poet, to complain as he did?

[b] Παλεῖς τ' ἄπαιδα, εἰ αὐτὸς ὢν νοθαγενὴς
Μηδὲν καὶ ἄδικον ὢν κεκλήσεται.

But if the Father were a Prince, or ſome great Potentate (if we may believe *Euſtathius* upon [c] *Homer* concerning *Teucer*,

* *L.* 3. *c.* 6.

[a] *In Avib.*

[b] Eurip. *v.* 591.

[c] *Il.* 2.

who was a *nothus* himself) being *well* born he must needs be *lawfully* born, and so he was held in as great esteem as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance, *Consuetudinis Regiæ fuit ut legitimam uxorem non habentes aliquam licèt captivam tamen pro legitima haberent, ut liberi ex ipsa nati succederent,* says *Servius.* Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a *portion* onely of a thousand *drachmæ* at the most: [d] this portion they called τὰ νοθεῖα, which they had in the nature of gifts, like מתנת which * *Abraham* gave to the Sons of *his* Concubines: it was the value of πέντε μνῶν of five *minæ* says the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes in Avibus,* where I remember how *Hercules* (*Jupiter*'s Bastard by *Alcmena* the Wife of *Amphytrion*) when *Pistheteros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he could not lay claim to the least part of his Father's estate, makes answer thus;

[d] Harpoc.

* Gen. 25. v. 6.

Τί δ' ἢν ὁ πατὴρ δίδῳ τὰ χρήματα
Τὰ νοθεῖα;

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no Law against that?

But the other reply'd again and confuted his answer, by urging *Solon*'s Law, which ordered indeed, that the *nothi* should μεῖναι τῶν χρημάτων, have the estate shared among them in portions, but it must be onely for default of legitimate Children, and not otherwise. This Law is mentioned by *Demosthenes* in his speech πρὸς Μακάρτατον. 3. Ὁ σκότιος, an *obscure* Son, whose Father we know not: in Latin *Spurius* or *Favonius,* as if he were nothing but *Terræ Filius,* rising out of the ground like the *wind*; or as if he were *begotten of the wind,* (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the help of a Father; like the Eggs which they call ἀνεμίαι, made by the Hens without the help of the Cock. In allusion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan,* ἀνεμαῖον παῖδα, because they feign'd him to be *born* of *Juno,* but *begot* of the *Wind,* or they knew not whom. 4. Ὁ παρθενίας, ὃν τις ἐκ τῆς δολώσης ἐν παρθένῳ νόμῳ συνοικίσας ἐποιήσατο, says *Pollux*; *A Son born in Wedlock, of a Woman with Child when she married, whom the Husband took for a Maid.* To these may be added, first, ἀπάτωρ or ἀπάτορος, a *Son* not *begotten,* but

but *made*, or *adopted*: of whom (it may be) I ſhall ſpeak more anon. Secondly, Ἐλεύθερος *liber*, whoſe Father was ἀπελεύθερος *libertus, made free*, and thirdly, ἐξελεύθερος *ingenuus*, the Son of ἐλεύθερος. Any Son begotten by a Father in his old age, or the onely Child, or the onely beloved, they uſually called * πολύγαιον. * J. Poll.

CAP. X.

De Liberorum Educatione.

IT is ſaid of *Greece*, that it took the beſt courſe in breeding up of Children, of any Countrey in the world. Inſomuch that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of Κεκροβότος, by way of excellency above the reſt. But how is it then that *Homer* gives the ſame to *Ithaca*, as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus*? In *Ariſtophanes* his *Theſmophoriazuſæ*, the *Præco*, calling upon the Woman, to provide to ſacrifice to ſuch and ſuch Gods, among the reſt brings in

Καὶ τῇ Κεκροπίδῃ τῇ γῇ.

But whether this γῇ here be *Tellus* in general, the Mother and the Nurſe of the Creatures, or whether it be onely *Tellus Attica*, *Athens* καλ' ἐξοχὴν, the beſt Nurſe of the *beſt*, I know not; but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, *viz.* that *Erictthonius* the poor expos'd Child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgment of his education in that Land, firſt ſacrificed to this τῇ Κεκροπίδῃ, and having built an Altar of purpoſe to her, made a Law that whoſoever would ſacrifice to any other God, ſhould πρώτῃ ταύτῃ θύειν, doe it to her firſt. Well let us ſee a little what their manner of Education was. They ſay the Children were uſually taught πρῶτον κολυμβᾶν, δεύτερον δὲ γράμματα, *firſt to ſwim and dive, and then to reade*; Very good method. If the Father was poor, he was brought up to a trade; if able and rich, to Philoſophy, Muſick, Gymnical exerciſes, hunting, and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in caſe his Father ſhould

ſhould come to poverty, he was not bound to maintain
* Plut. *in* Solon. * him, as otherwiſe he was. Many times the Boys were taken up, and maintain'd by the greater ſort in a luſtfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their ἐρώμενοι, *Pages:* all ſuch *Catamites* or *Ganymedes*
† Heſych. were uſually called † παῖδες, though I know, παῖς and σκύμνος too, are frequently uſed by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all.

CAP. XI.

De Puerorum Caſtigatione, &c.

IF a Boy at any time were refractary, and ſtubborn in committing a fault, the beſt means the Mother could uſe to perſwade him to leave it, was to ſhew him her breaſts, ὡσεὶ κρείττους ἐκείνους, ſays the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, as the moſt powerfull motive ſhe had. But the Fathers and the Maſters took another courſe with him. If a Boy had deſerved to be whipt, he ſhould be ſure enough of his wages from *them*, for they tyed him faſt πρὸς ξύλον, to a *block*, to make him *kiſs the poſt*; or πρὸς πασσάλῳ, *to a ſtake*, or *a pin*, and ſo whipt him. And thus to be puniſhed they called
[a] *In Equit.* it διαπασσαλεύεσθαι. Διαπασσαλεύσειν χαμαί, ſays he in [a] *Ariſtophanes*, which is rendred by *Friſchlin*, *Diſtentus affigêre humi*, as if they ſtretcht him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, and armes, and legs to pins faſtned in the ground for that purpoſe, to keep him from ſtriving. I know not whether this were the ſame as they called
[b] *Ep. ad Hebr.* [b] τυμπανίζεσθαι, or καταυμπανίζεσθαι. But I think that to have
c. 11. *v.* 35. been rather the ſtretching or pulling of the skin, onely *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drum. Of which perhaps the Poet ſpeaks, when he ſays, Ἡ βύρσα ζῶ διαιρεῖται, from the διφθέρα, or the ſtool, whereon they ſtrecht him or beat him, as they would a skin or a hide.
[c] *L.* 2. *c.* 7. *v.* 7. That torture of one of the ſeven Brethren in the [c] *Macchabees*, pulling his skin off his head, may very well be reduced hither.

hither. And indeed I do rather think the true *apotympanismum* to have been a torture or a rack exerciſed upon any by Tyrants, rather than a puniſhment of Boys and Children by their Maſters. For ſo *Ariſtotle*, in the ſecond Book of his [d] Rhetorick, ſays that *Antiphon* the Poet, was uſed by *Dionyſius* the Tyrant. And in the ſixth * Chapter of the ſame Book, ſpeaking of the want of all fear, in ſuch as had already ſuffered the extremity of evils, he inſtances in thoſe that are thus uſed; ὥσπερ οἱ ἀποτυμπανιζόμενοι. And ſo *Plutarch* in his Book *De Adulatione*, cries out upon thoſe flatterers of *Ptolemy*, that even τυμπανιζόντος, *when he was thus racking and torturing of men*, durſt not open their mouths to diſſwade him. But yet I believe alſo, that there was an eaſier kind of τυμπανισμὸς when they would but beat a fellow with clubs, which they called τύμπανα. (If that be not rather the word for the block, upon which they ſuffered, for the Scholiaſt on theſe words of *Ariſtophanes* in *Pluto*, Ὦ τύμπανα καὶ κύδωνες —— ſays both ἐφ' οἷς, *on* which, and οἷς, *with* which they beat him.) And that Boys were puniſhed with ſuch a thing, I have cauſe to think, from theſe words of *Plutarch*, ἀποτυμπανιεῖ τὸ παιδίον, &c. But to return to the puniſhment with the *Paſſalus*, I know the word πάτταλος in that Poet, is more often uſed to expreſs another manner of handling a man, by any body elſe as well as a Maſter. For inſtance, in *Theſmophoriazuſæ*, when one kept a great deal of noiſe, and would not be ſilent, another threatens him to put a πάσσαλον in his mouth,

——ἐμβαλῶ σοι
Πάσσαλον ἵνα μὴ σιωπᾷς.

Where the Scholiaſt ſays he alluded to the trick (uſed with us alſo) of thruſting a ſtick in a Hog's mouth, when they would ſee whether it had πὰς χάλαζαν; the *Hail*, or the Meazles or no: nay in the Poet himſelf in *Equites*, you have one threatning to uſe another in this very manner. That faſhion of tying the Boys to a ſtake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themiſtius*, under the name of περιπαττάλιζειν in his firſt Oration, where ſpeaking of a *Plagoſus Orbilius*; that uſed to *pay* the poor and Fatherleſs Children

to

[d] *L.* 2. *c.* 8. *t.* 38.

* *T.* 24.

to the purpose, because they could pay *him* no better; says he, παιδάεσσα δυσυχῆ περικαλλιών, &c. And so *Prometheus*, whom the Gods tyed to *Caucasus*-hill for stealing fire, is said by *Menander*, to have been περικαλλιώθη, or ty'd like a Boy to the Rocks;

Εἶτ' ἐ δικαίως περικαλλιώθην
Γεγένημαι ὁ Προμηθέα πρὸς τὴν πέτραν.

Where he prettily pleads his cause, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for so small a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a Child went farther yet: For first, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to doe it, unless it were found in the act of Adultery) any one might sell his Child when he [f] pleased. Secondly, the Father, if the Son had been faulty, might ἀποκηρύξαι τὸν υἱὸν, [g] *abdicare filium suum*, turn him out of doors. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cause, says [h] *Demosthenes*: and then the κῆρυξ, or the Cryer, went about, and cryed that ὁ δεῖνα, such a one did deny τὸν δεῖνα, such a one to be his Son any longer. He that was thus used, was said ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ γένους, *to be ejected out of the Family*, and was called ἀποκήρυκτος. If he were received into favour again, he was said ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον, *to be taken into the Family again*: and then he could never be abdicated any more.

Plut. *in* Sol.

[g] Lucian.

[h] Πρὸς Βοίωτ.

CAP. XII.

De ascriptione in Φρατρίας.

THE Sons when they came to be three years old at the soonest, and seven at the latest, were carried by their Fathers to the Φρατορες, and registred in the Tribe. But before they could be registred, the Fathers were to take their Oaths that the Children were theirs: and yet notwithstanding the Oaths, those heads of the Tribe if they listed, might question the matter, and put them to a [a] suit in Law. The time on which this was usually done, was the third day of the Feast Ἀπατούρια. Which was so called,

[a] Demosth. Πρὸς Μακάρτ.

called, either, according to the Etymological Dictionary, becauſe the Sons, which before might be thought ἀπάτορες [d], to have *no Father*, did now make it appear, who the Father was. Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, becauſe at that Feaſt, [b] οἵτε πάλαι καὶ οἱ ξυγγενεῖς ξύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the Fathers met all together: and ſo it muſt be call'd Ἀπατούρια, in that manner as a Wife is call'd, ἄλοχος for ὁμόλεκτος, or ἄκοιτις for ὁμοκοίτις. Where *A* is ὁμαλητικὸν, and not a privative; as likewiſe in ἀπυνὸς, and many other ſuch words. The third day of the Feaſt was called by the name of Κουρεῶτις, ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς, as who would ſay a *Shearing-feaſt*: becauſe at that time they uſed to *cut their hair*. The hair which they cut, they called μαλλὸν, or σκολλὸν, or θρεπτήριον πλόκαμον, in oppoſition to ταφήϊος, that which they cut at a Funeral. This *lock* (as I think it was) they had nouriſhed of purpoſe till that time, and conſecrated to the honour of one of their Gods: as may appear by the practice of *Bacchus* himſelf: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing elſe to diſſwade him, but to tell him it was *ſacred*, (like the lock of the [c] *Nazarites.*)

[b] *L.* 1. Ἑλλην.

[c] Num. *c.* 6. *v.* 5.

[d] Ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.

[d] Eurip. *in Bacch.* 494.

And thus *Theſeus* is ſaid to have conſecrated his hair to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The hair thus cut, becauſe it was the firſt time that ever they cut it, and becauſe it was done by way of an offering, they called κόμης ἀπαρχὰς, *the firſt fruits of the hair*, (for the word both Engliſh, Greek, and Hebrew, is applicable to any thing that is firſt.) Such firſt-fruits of his Beard * *Nero* put into a golden Box, which he adorned with pretious Jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol.

* Sueton. *c.* 12. *ejus vitæ.*

If the Children were of a noble bloud, they would go as far as *Delphos* to give it to *Apollo*. But if others, ſome to one God, and ſome to another (I think they had their choice, for there were Gods enough of conſcience) at *Rome*, beſide *Apollo*, whom ſtill one or other was careſull to ſupply (notwithſtanding his own *Intonſum caput*, and his long hairy beams),

[f] *Hos tibi, Phœbe, vovet totos à vertice crines,*

[f] Martial.

Æsculapius was remembered too: For *Statius* speaks of one *Earinus*, that sent his hair to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious Box beset with Jewels, and a Looking-glass besides,

ε Mar. *Ep.* 9. ——ε *dulcésque capillos,*
Pergameo posuit dona sacrata Deo.

How was it then that the Vestal Virgins hung up theirs upon a *Tree*; which *Festus* says they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillaris?* The Nuns, the Vestal Virgins of these times, have no such need, they have Gods and Saints enough, and to one of them they bestow a *love lock* for *entrance*, as I have heard it reported. But let me not run on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and divers others say, that this registring in the Tribe-book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the Boys were fifteen years old, and the enrolling of them into the ληξιαρχικον γραμματειον at eighteen: according to that of *Pausanias in Eliacis*, where he says, that after they were eighteen years old, they were not to play at any kind of plays with Boys any longer. But as yet, I dare be so bold as to be of a contrary mind. For first, *Proclus* upon *Plato*'s *Timæus*, says, that when they went to be registred, they were τριετεῖς ἢ τετραετεῖς, *three or four years old*, and there is my authority. Secondly, *Cnemon in Heliodorus* saith, he was registred as soon as he went to School, which is like to have been sooner than at fifteen years old: and there is my example. Thirdly, it is agreed upon by all, that at the time of registring they offered up the *first-fruits* of their hair: and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen years of age, and there is my reason. But, *Si quid novisti rectius, &c.* it is all one to me.

CAP.

CAP. XIII.

De aſcriptione in Epheborum cenſum, & in album Lexiarchicum.

WHen they came to be eighteen years old εἰσιὼν εἰς ἐφήβους, they were liſted among the number of thoſe that were ἔφηβοι, *puberes*. And to this purpoſe they had certain Officers appointed to ſearch them to ſee whether they were ſo or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they called it) φρουρεῖν τὰ κατὰ πόλιν, to keep Guard, or doe ſervice in the City, (of which hereafter.) This ſearch or examination was called Δοκιμασία. If they were found to be *puberes*, ſound wind and limb, and like to prove Souldiers; they were laid in the Temple of *Agrulus*, where they took a ſolemn Oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the Gods and the Countrey. The time when this was done was upon Κυρίων too, and that may be the occaſion of the difference I lately ſpake of. Neither were theſe later rites performed without cutting of hair too. But commonly the faſhion was, either then, or at any other time but the firſt, to conſecrate their hair, not to this or that God, but to the Rivers, eſpecially ſuch as belonged to the Countrey they lived in [a] τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ποτάμοις. Thus much may be gathered from [b] *Peleus* his *Vow* to conſecrate his hair to the River *Sperchius*, if *Achilles* returned in ſafety: and [c] *Memnon*'s performance of the like to the River of *Nilus*: ſo (as [d] *Paul* ſhaved his hair at *Cenchrea*, upon the like occaſion.) The Nazarites, when *they* cut their *hair of* * *conſecration*, were to make uſe of the contrary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongſt the Greeks the cuſtome of paying tribute for their hair, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principal cauſe of life and growth) was very uſual both in Men and Women, eſpecially in times of mourning, when they cut it moſt. I remember *Helena* in *Euripides*, where ſhe bemoans the condition of the poor *Trojans*, and the ſad fruits of the War, ſpeaks of ſuch a thing done by the Virgins at the River *Scamander*,

[a] *Schol. in* Hom. *Il.* Φ'.
[b] Pauſan. *in Att.*
[c] Philoſtr.
[d] Act. 18. 18.
* Num. c. 3.

f Eurip. Helen. v. 372.

f Ἀπὸ ἧ παρθένοι κόμας
Ἔσυλο σύγγονοι νεκρῶν
Σκαμάνδρου ἀμφὶ ῥεύμιον εἴδωμα.

Unleſs you had rather think it was done (according to the cuſtome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I ſhould have told you that before they cut their hair, (I mean when they went out *Ephebi*) they firſt took a veſſel of Wine (κίρνον οἶνου, ſays *Heſychius*) and having conſecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there preſent. This ceremony, they called τὰ οἰνιστήρια from the Wine. And here it may not be amiſs, to mention the diſtinction, which you ſhall find in the Poets of two ſeveral ways of cutting their hair, in uſe among the Greeks. The one was κουρὰ, when they did but pair their hair, as they would do the borders in a *garden*: the other called σκάφιον, when they ſhaved it ſo cloſe to the skin, that they made the head look like a σκάφη, a *skiff*, or a boat. When they came to be two years *puberes*, ἐπιδεεῖς ἡβῶντες, (as *Demoſthenes* calls it) or twenty years old; εἰς ἀνδρὰς ἐπεγράφησαν, *they wrote men*, or they became *ſui juris*, and their names were regiſtred by the *Demarchus* in his Ληξιαρχικὸν γράμμα, *in Albo Lexiarchico*, a Book wherein he kept the names of all thoſe that belonged to his *Demus*. It had this name παρὰ τὴν λῆξιν, (or τὴν κλῆσιν) ἄρχειν, becauſe as ſoon as any one's name was written therein, he might be *maſter* of an eſtate *himſelf* if he had it. Beſides this Book, there was πινάκιον πύξινον, *a table of box-wood*, wherein every one was to ſet down of what *Demus* he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the Women, they were not wont to be entred into any Tribe, till the time when they came to be married, and that in the Month of *Gamelion*, whereas the Men were entred in the Month of *Pyanepſion*.

CAP.

CAP. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumnis præbenda.

WHen the Father came to *age*, or *neceſſity*, if the Son refuſed to ſupport him (unleſs he were a *nothus*, or had not been bred up to a *calling*) he might be ſerved with a Writ τῆς κακώσεως τῶν γονέων, and if he were convicted, his puniſhment was to be excommunicated all Society, both ſacred and civil; and to be fined a mulct beſides. This maintenance and ſuccour, he was bound by a Law of *Solon*'s making, to afford not onely to his Parents, but to any friend elſe, to whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τὰ θρεπτήρια, and θρεπτήρια, or τροφεῖα, in Latin *Alimenta*. This debt they reckon'd themſelves ſo ſtrongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and grieved for nothing ſo much, as to die before it was paid, according to that in the Poet; *Iliad* δ'.

——— ἐ ἢ τοκεῦσι
Θρεπτήρια φίλοις ἀπιδῶκε μιμνωσκόμενον ἢ οἱ αἰῶν
Ἔπλετ'———

rendred by *Val.* [a] *Flaccus* thus, [a] *L.* 6.

——— *nec reddita charo*
Nutrimenta patri brevibus præreptus in annis.

Inſomuch that the Parent might very well ſay to his Children, [b] *Non eſt beneficium quod poſcitis, ſed facinus quod negatis.* And indeed I muſt needs ſay thus much for them, I have found them for the moſt part, very carefull to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender-hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in uſe among them, *viz.* If a Father had been any time abroad, when he came home again, the Daughters themſelves, preſently fell to waſhing his feet, and anointed them with Oil, ὅπως ἀπομάλυν τοὺ πατέρας καὶ τοὺ γέροντας, ſaith the [c] Scholiaſt, inſomuch that *Euphron* (ſaith he) thought that *Homer* had uſed the Epithete λιπαροὶ for the feet, in alluſion to this anointing, (it may be) they uſed to kiſs them too (as *ſhe* did the feet of our Saviour) for ſo ſaith he of his Daughter in *Ariſtophanes*, [b] Quintil. *Decl.* 6. [c] *In* Ariſt. *Veſp.*

——— καὶ

——κ᾽ σεσῶτα μ᾽ ἡ δυσάτης
Ἀπονίζη, κ᾽ πρὸ πόδ᾽ ἀλείφη κ᾽ σφκύλασα φιλήση.

For the Children thus to maintain their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to *feed* the *old ones* like the Birds, it was commonly termed in one word γηροβοσκῶν, and ſo *Medea* uſes the word to her Children at parting,

[d] Eurip. Med. v. 133.

——[d] ἔιχον ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν γηροβοσκήσειν τ᾽ ἐμέ.

Next to the charges of *maintaining* the Parent when he is *old*, are thoſe of *burying* him, when he is *dead*; and thoſe to be born by the Son too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his Father, for not offering to lay down that life in *his* room, which being then very old, he muſt ſhortly leave in his *own*; *Well* (ſays he) *I am to be reckoned but a dead man, and you for your part, are not like to have any more ſons now,*

* *Idem in* Alceſt. v. 664.

* Οἱ γηροβοσκήσουσι κ᾽ θανόντα σε
Περιστελοῦσι, κ᾽ προθήσουσι νεκρόν.
That will you feed, *and ſhroud your head,*
And Lay you forth *when you are dead.*

And now that we have brought the man ſo near his end: we will ſhew him what courſe he is to take for the diſpoſing of his eſtate, onely becauſe if he ſhould have no Children at all, or none ſuch as they ſhould be, there might be a doubt what to doe; I will ſpeak a word of that firſt.

CAP. XV.

De adoptione, teſtamento & hæreditate.

[a] Iſæ. *de Ariſt.*

IF a Man had either no Child at all, or none that was γνήσιος, *free-born*, he had power [a] to adopt him a *nothus* or any one elſe. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of the Magiſtrate, as their Wills were wont to be. Whoſoever was thus adopted, muſt firſt be made free of the City, and then be aſcrib'd into the Tribe (or Fraternity) of him that adopted him. But this laſt was to be done upon the Feaſt of

Θαργήλια.

Θαργήλια in the Month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. Having thus left his *old* Tribe (which they were not bound to doe among the Romans) he was not to return to it again, till he had begotten a Child in the *new*. As for the Man's estate it passed to another, either [b] κατὰ γένος, *by descent*, or κατὰ διαθήκην, *by virtue of a Will*. Now by *Solon*'s Laws (for before their estate could not be convey'd but to those of the kindred) a man might make any body his heir of any estate that he had, which was not in controversie, but with these six qualifications. First, he himself must be no fool nor mad-man. 2. No prisoner, so as to make his Will against his will: for then it could be no Will. 3. No stranger: for then his estate went to the common Treasure. 4. No adopted man: for such a one's estate, if he wanted a Child, was to pass to the [c] next of the Adopter's kindred. 5. Not perswaded thereunto by his Wife: for such a one (says my [d] Authour) μελαγχολᾷν δοκεῖ, *is little better than a mad-man*. 6. Not having a Male-child of his own, for then the inheritance should go to him. And if there were more Males than one, they were to be ἰσομοιροι, *copartners*, or *joynt-tenants*. But in case he had no Male-child at all, and died without a Will, the estate fell to the next Male of the Kindred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not γνήσιοι, *free-born and legitimate*: the Daughter was to be ἐπίκληρος, or μονοκληρονόμος, *sole heir*. And therefore *he* in *Aristophanes*'s *Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *Minerva* could not possibly be ἐπίκληρος to *Jupiter*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate Sons:

[b] Demost.

[c] Demost. *ad* Leothar.

[d] *Id. cont.* Olympiodorum.

——πῶς ἄν ποτε
Ἐπίκληρον εἶχ' Ἀθηναίαν δοκεῖς,
Ὅταν συγατίς' ὄντων ἀδελφῶν γνησίων;

I say this Daughter was the heir, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heir by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not go beyond * μέδιμνον χριθῶν, six Bushels, (they say it is) or the value of such a measure of Barley. He to whom the estate did pass, by what way soever it were, was forthwith to make his claim

* Isæus *de Astarch.*

to

to it before the Pretor: which thing they called κλητεῖν ἐπὶ κλῆσιν, or ἐπιδικάζεσθαι τὸ κλῆρον. And if any one would [f] παρακαλαλλεῖν, lay in any thing to defeat the claim, he was to prosecute his title. And now the man hath made his Will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I shall therefore endeavour to shew him how to have that done too in the amplest manner; onely first, I will satisfie him of the necessity of having a burial.

[f] Demost. *contr.* Stephan.

CAP. XVI.

De Necessitate Sepulturæ.

I Remember *Cicero* in his *Topicks*, divides Justice into three kinds, *unam ad superos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem:* of the second kind of Justice, *viz. To the dead,* I do find every where among the Ancients so religious a care, and such sacred esteems of a *Burial*, that Sepulchres were called *Templa*, and the rite of a Funeral acknowledged to be τὰ νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *justa* by the Latins. Insomuch that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance upon the carcase of another, whosoever it were; [a] he should be bound to cast earth upon it three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turf,

[a] Ælian. *Var. Hist. l.* 5. *c.* 14.

[b] Horace *l.* 1. *Od.* 28.

——[b] *Capiti inhumato*
Particulam dare——

The Romans (it seems by *Quintil. Declam.* 5. observed this custome exceeding well, for (says he) *Ignotis cadaveribus humum congerimus, & insepultum quodlibet corpus nulla festinatio tam rapida transcurrit, ut non quantulocunque veneretur aggestu.* And if any one omitted the duty, he must make satisfaction by sacrificing a Sow-pig *porcam* [c] *præcidaneum* (as they called it) to *Ceres*. But the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther: οἱ νεκρὸν ὁρῶντες ἄταφον καὶ μὴ ἐναμησάμενοι χόνιν ἐναγεῖς ἦσαν ἐδόκουν. Whosoever saw a dead body, and did not put the dust upon it, was not onely a breaker of

[c] Festus *c.* 14.

of the Law, but ἐναγὴς, a *ſcelus*, an *accurſed devoted fellow*, *anathema*, (for what ſhould the body doe any longer in the air, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὰ ἄταφα, μεμιασμένα, ſays the Scholiaſt upon [d] *Euripides*, and πολὺ καταχθονίους θεοὺς μὴ ἐλασσὼς εἶναι, very much feared that the Gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to them were above ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongſt them, than ἐκ πλέθρου χθονὸς, that *he might not be covered with the Earth.* Methinks I ſee * *Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles* as he was ready to ſtab him; and [f] *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (before he fell upon his ſword) earneſtly beſeeching them not to ſuffer their bodies, when their ſouls were removed to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat *for the dogs and the birds.* Hence ſurely it was, that the Ancients ſtood ſo much in fear of a death upon the Sea; or a ſhipwreck, becauſe of the death: for there they could never be interred;

Demite naufragium, & mors mihi munus erit.

ſays *Ovid.* Inſomuch that when they went to Sea, or at leaſt when they feared to be *caſt away* (as we call it, for there if the ſoul be gone, we have loſt the body too) their cuſtome was to faſten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him that ſhould find it, and bury it, if it were caſt a ſhore. Φέρειν δεῖ τιμὴν ἐντάφιον ἢ ἐκ ναυαγίου νεκρὸν, ὃ δὴ προσυχὴν καὶ κεφαλὰς νόμος ἀδρασείας αἰδεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐκ μικρόν τι μέρος ἀποδάπτεσθαι τῷ χαροπαμφίῳ πολλαπλάσιον; Says *Syneſius* in one of his Epiſtles. Moreover not onely if a Corpſe were not buried at all, but if it were not buried as ſoon as poſſibly it could, it was counted μίασμά τι τῶν νεκρῶν, as if they had offended the *manes*: whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it μείλισμά τι τῶν νεκρῶν, that they had done them a pleaſure. You have thoſe two words uſed by the Scholiaſt, upon the ſaying of *Homer*, *Iliad.* 7.

——ἔπεικε θάνωσι πυρὸς μειλίσσομεν ὥκα.

Patroclus is ſaid to have been angry with *Achilles* for ſuch a delay, and how true it is [g] which one ſays, that the bodies were kept fourteen days and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I do not yet find.

[d] *In* Helen.

* Homer.

[f] Sophoc.

[g] Alex. *ab* Alex. *l.* 3. *c.* 7.

CAP. XVII.

De ter vocanda anima, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUT next to the happineſs of *being buried*, was that of being *buried in their own Countrey*. Inſomuch that if a Man died ſo far from home, that they could not come to the *body*, they were wont with ſolemn and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, ἀναβαλήσασθαι τὴν Ψυχὴν.—*manes ter voce vocare* (as I may ſay) *to give a hollow for the Soul*: which they thought was ſtill *quick* enough to come to *them*. [a] *Pindar* ſays, that *Phrixus*, when he was a-dying at *Colchis*, deſir'd *Pelias* to ſee this office perform'd for him,

[a] *In Pyth. Od. 4.*

——χίλεσθαι γὸ ἐὰν
Ψυχὰν κομίξαι Φρίξου——

And ſo *Ulyſſes*, after he had loſt threeſcore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, preſently made it his buſineſs (ſays [b] *Homer*)

[b] *Ill. 13.*

——τρὶς ἕκαστον ἀῦσαι·

to give a whoop *for every one three times*. As [c] *Theocritus* ſays of *Hylas*, τρὶς μ' ὕλαν ἀῦσαι. In *Virgil* he is named but twice,

[c] *Eccl. 6.*

——*Hylam nautæ quo fonte relictum*
Clamaſſent: ut littus Hyla, Hyla, omne ſonaret.

Doubtleſs they would have been glad, to believe their *bodies* alſo might be rolled under ground, into their native Countrey, as ſome of the *Jews* do think theirs ſhall into the Land of *Canaan*. And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Souls themſelves, it could be to little purpoſe. For as I remember, one in *Ariſtophanes's Ranis* ſays concerning the dead,

Οἷς ὦ γ' τρὶς λάρυγξιν ἐξικνεῖσθαι.

They are gone ſo far, οἴχονται, (οἴχεσθαι, *to go*, is uſed alſo for *to dye*, we ſay a man is *dead, and gone*) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But muſt this be all? can there be no way elſe to honour the Man, unleſs you can finger the Carcaſe? yes, he ſhall be kept ſafe in a Grave and a Monument, though he never be

be buried. Such a Monument they called Κενοτάφιον: and to bury a man thus in *effigie* (as I may ſay) κενοταφεῖν, as in [d] *Euripides*,

[d] Helen. v. 1562.

Οὐ πωδαλεὶς παῖς ἦδ' ὀπάντα κενοταφεῖ.

The Scholiaſt upon the ſame Poet in *Hecuba*, gives a full teſtimony of the cuſtome, ſaying that, Εἰώθασι γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸν ἐυκλεᾶ τὰ καλοφθίμενα, κἂν ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τῇ γῇ τεθνήκῃ, χώσαι τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὸ ζῆν τὴν μνήμης, *Though the body were buried in another Countrey, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave.* *Nonnus* calls this *Cenotaphion*, Κενήριον, from νεκὺς a Sepulchre. Such a thing as this *Æneas* made for his Father;

—— * *Tumulum Rhœteo in littore inanem* * Virg. *Æn.* 6.
Conſtitui ——

[f] *Progne* for *Philomela*; [f] Ovid. *l.* 6. *Fab.* 8.

—— *& inane Sepulchrum*
Conſtituit ——

The *Pythagoreans* for thoſe *qui à Philoſophia ſua deſciviſſent*, (accounting them *as bad as* departed out of the life, that had departed from their *principles.*) The *Athenians* for all thoſe that dyed upon the Sea;

Ὡς ᾧ θανόντα σ' ἀναλσον κεὐῳ τάφῳ
Θάλασ' ——

ſays the Poet concerning *Helena*'s Husband. 'Tis worth our labour to reade the ſtory, what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a ſuit of Clothes in a Bier, as if his body were there; and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drown it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which paſſed between *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the cuſtome,

Theoc. Τί δ' ἐς' ὀπόντων τύμβ@; ἢ δάλεις σκιάν;
Hel. Ἕλλησιν ὧδε νόμ@, ὃς ἂν πόντῳ θάνῃ.
Theoc. Τί δρᾶν, σοφοὶ τοι πελόπιδαι τὰ τοιάδε.
Hel. Κενοῖσι θάπτειν ἐν τάφοις ὑφάσμασιν.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an *empty* Bier in pomp, and a Burial, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the ſtatelieſt manner that might be. For with this proviſion for his Burial, he in [g] *Ariſtophanes* com- [g] *In Avibus.*

forted himſelf and his Friend, ὁ Κεραμικὸς Δεξίλαν νεὰ. What need, I ſay, more of this? It was a common thing every where as [h] *Ovid* ſays,

[h] *L. 11. Fab. 10.*

Et ſæpe in tumulis ſine corpore nomina legi.

CAP. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & iis quæ in homicidiis fieri ſolebant.

THE cuſtoms uſed in *Athens* upon the dead body were different, according to the different ways by which he came to his end, *viz.* Violent, and Natural. And firſt of the cuſtoms uſed in a violent death. If the man had kill'd himſelf (αὐτόχειρ) they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the reſt of the body. So ſays *Cæl. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him ſo. In dying (or falling down) Men and Women, but eſpecially the Women were exceeding carefull, that they might not diſcover any thing that was not to be ſeen, but εὐσχημόνως πεσεῖν, as *Euripides* ſays of *Polyxena*. If *another* killed a man, he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it juſtly and in a good cauſe, though he waſhed his hands after it (as they would do after killing any other Creature) yet he uſed to take the ſword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the bloud on it, σύμβολον τὸ δικαίως πεφονεύκεναι, (ſays the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*) to ſhew that he fear'd not if heaven were witneſs, and all the world knew of the fact. If he had done it unjuſtly, inſtead of *ſhewing* the bloud, he wip'd it off in the hair of the party ſlain: ὥσπερ ἀποξεσπαιζόμενον τὸ μῦσος ἐν τῷ φόνῳ (ſays the Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate, *and wipe away* the *abomination* of the fact. But if it were ἐμφύλιον and συγγενικὸς φόνος (as he ſays) i. e. *if the party were one of his own Tribe or kindred*: he could never wipe it ſo clean but ſome would ſtick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided amulets and ſpells to keep them off. And what better thing than

than a part of the body it ſelf? for having that in their power as a hoſtage, to doe what they would with it, the Ghoſt of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or elſe would ſpare the bearer for love of the carriage. And therefore as ſoon as they had ſlain him, they cut off all the *extreme* or *outmoſt parts* of the outmoſt members, and ſewing them, or tying them together, wore them under their arme-pits. The [a] *extremities* thus uſed they call'd ἀκρωλήια, and ſo to uſe the body ἀκρωτηριάζειν, as they call'd it likewiſe, if they did but cut the *tops* of the *ears* when a man had committed a fault, ſays the *Etymological Dictionary*, which may more properly be called λωβᾶσθαι, from λοβὸς the lap of the ear. Though that word, and λυμαίνεσθαι, be alſo uſed for as bad uſage as ἀκρωτηριάζειν: unleſs you will ſay this was properly ſaid to be done, when they killed the party quite. Thoſe ἀκρωλήια, are ſometimes called ἀπόσφαλα or ἐξέσφαλα, as in [b] *Apollonius*, where he ſpeaks of *Abſyrtus* his being thus uſed by his Siſter *Medea*,

[a] Soph. *in* Electra.

[b] L. 4.

Ἥρως δ' Αἰσονίδης ἐξάσφαλα τέμνε θανόντος.
Ἡ δὲμις αὐδήλησι συλοκλώσσασι ἰλάσθαι.

And ſometimes μασχαλίσματα from μασχαλίζειν, the ſame that ἀκρωτηριάζειν, becauſe ofttimes they hung thoſe pieces of the body τὰ μασχάλαις to their arme-holes, of which *Sophocles* ſpeaks thus,

Ὑφ' ἧς θανὼν ἄπυθ' ὥστε δυσμενὴς,
Ἐμασχαλίσθη.

But if he had kill'd the man by treachery, he hung thoſe pieces about his *neck*, and taking ſome of the bloud, ſpit three times in his mouth. This faſhion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noſes, and the Ears, and the Hands, and the Feet, was in uſe likewiſe among the Romans: not onely upon men *ſlain*, (as *Quintilian* ſays, *truncas partibus ſuis umbras*) but when they did not kill them out-right: according to that in *Virgil, Æn. 6.*

Atque hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora, manuſque ambas, populatâque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhoneſto vulnere nares.

That

That practice of * *Adonibezek*'s, which we reade of in the Book of *Judges*, in cutting the Fingers and Toes of the Kings, may well be called *Acroteriasmus*, as this was.

The usual punishments to be suffered by him that had kill'd another were these. If he had done it unwillingly, he must fly his own Countrey and get into another, (as the Israelites were to fly to the [c] *Cities of refuge*) being there, he must betake himself (saith the [d] Scholiast) εἰς τινὸς οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς πλούσιου, into some great man's house that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an ἱκέτης, or Petitioner) and there set him covered by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) καθαρσίων δεόμενος, to expiate the fact, and purge himself of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or kindred, he must tarry out of his Country a whole year at the * least. [f] *Eustathius* says anciently they suffered them sometimes to redeem their liberty with a fine of two Talents of Gold. But afterward, it seems to have been otherwise: Insomuch that a Murtherer was not onely forbid χέρνιβας νέμειν, or ἱερῶν μετέχειν, *to participate in their Sacrifices himself*: But every body else of his own Countrey was forbid to receive him into his house. Nay they might not be allowed to *speak* to him: as thinking him ἀνόσιον κάρα, ἐναγῆ, so unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* says ὃ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς αὐτὸν καλῶ. The Scholiast upon [g] *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, says that among the *Thessali*, they used to drag him about the grave, where the party was buried whom he had slain; as *Euridamus* did *Symon* for killing his Brother *Thrasynus*.

[a] C. 1. v. 7.

[c] Joshua, c. 20.

[d] *On* Homer. *Il.* O.

* *Schol. in* Eurip. Hip.

[f] *Il.* 18.

[g] *Il.* 10.

CAP. XIX.

De claudendis oculis, pulsandis æneis vasis, & amiciendo corpore.

IT was the Custome among the Greeks, as well as among the Jews and the Romans, when a man was a-dying, or his Sun was a setting (as they used to say,——* ἅλιον ἅμμι δεδύκειν)

* Theoc.

ἀπόλεσθαι) to have his eyes closed by the Parents, or the next of the kindred: and they call'd it Συγκλεισιν τῶν ὀμμάτων. The performing of this ceremony by the *Kindred*, was so much valued, that it was bewail'd as a very great unhappiness, to dye in such a place where a man's friends could not be present to doe it, as [b] *Ulysses* says,

[b] *Il. o.*

——ἐ μοί γε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
Οὐκ ἐπιθήσουσι δαΐφρονι——

If a *man* died suddenly, ἀνέκειτο (says the Scholiast upon *Homer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*; if a *Woman*, to *Diana*. I know not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, that just at the time of death, they had a custome likewise to make a great *ringing* with *vessels of brass*, (*Bells* some render it) to fright away the Hobgoblins, and Furies from the Soul. For such a kind of sound (he says) is καθαρὸς καὶ ἀπελαστικὸς τῶν μιασμάτων, of a special virtue for such effects. But else I should rather imagine it to have been done for the same end, that a Roman *Conclamation* was, *viz.* to try whether the party were but *dead asleep* (not *dead and gone*) and so to awaken him with the noise, as they were wont to doe to the Moon in an Eclipse, when they thought her asleep. The eyes being cover'd with the lids; the face was next cover'd with a cloath: and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hippolytus*, as he lay a-dying, thus calls to his Father to doe it,

[c] Κρύψον δέ μ' αἰσχρὸν ὡς τάχ' ἐκπλῶσι πέπλοις.

[c] Eurip. Hipp. v. 148.

And indeed the whole business of stretching out and shrowding the body, belonged especially to the next of the Kin. And therefore *Cassandra* in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better than that of the Greeks that besieged them, says, That *they*, having the happiness to dye at home among their friends and kindred, were

Χερσὶν αἰσχαλέυστες ἃν ἐχρῆν, ἑαυτῶν,

Shrowded by whom they ought, their Kin.

If a Father or a Mother died a Widow, the Children did it. And so *Medea* tells her Children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her self,

[d] Καὶ καθαγνίσειν χερσὶν οὐ φείσασθέν.

[d] Eurip. Med. v. 1036.

If

If the Husband dyed, the Wife did it. Which happineſs the Greek Souldiers could not attain, if they dyed at *Troy*;

* Troad. v. 177. —* ὁ θάνατος ἐν χεροῖν
Πέπλοις συνεσταλκώς.

If a Brother, the Siſter. Which made *Oreſtes* when he was to ſuffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way off from his home, cry out ſo pitifully,

† *Id.* Iphig. *in Taur.* † Φεῦ, πῶς ἄν μ' ἀδελφὴ χεὶρ σφαγεῖλειν ἄν;
A lack! how ſhall my Siſter ſhrowd me now?

CAP. XX.

De offâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.

THE body being dead, began from thence to be *ſacrum*, *ſacred*, thoſe that are dead are called ἱεροὶ by ‡ *Plutarch*, and the Graves themſelves ἁγνὰ νεία by *Lycophron*, as ſoon as the body was in. *Sacred*, I ſay, that is not to be injured, far enough from *holy*, inſomuch that if a man had but toucht it, νεκρῷ θίγη χεροῖν (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any *holy* thing after, till he had waſhed, πυγμῇ, as a Jew: *Toucht*, did I ſay? when *Hippolytus* lay a-dying, *Diana* would not ſo much as ſtay and *ſee* him dead, for fear of pollution;

‡ *In vita* Numæ.

ᵇ Eurip. Hipp. v. 1437. Καὶ χαῖρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὁ θέμις φθίσαι δόμους,
Οὐδ' ὄμμα κραίνειν θανασίμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς.

The ſame may be ſaid of the Graves δυσθήμιστα τάφοι, ſays *Heſiod*, for ἁγνὰ they were not, but onely in this ſenſe, that they were ἀκίνητα, *not to be meddled with*, as ſome would have it to be meant by that of the ſame Poet,

Μηδ' ἐφ' ἀκινήτοισι καθίζειν——

Inſomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Quæſt.* ſays, that thoſe men, that out of pride would make their burying-place, and provide the funeral pomp, before they dyed, were not fit to bear the name of ἁγνοὶ themſelves, the whole performance of the ceremonies which uſed to prepare the body for the burial, was called (ſays the Scholiaſt upon *Æſchylus*) συσκευή,

συσκευὴ, as the *elation* or carrying forth, was called ἐκκομιδή. The ceremonies were theſe. Firſt, they took a piece of money above a half peny ('twas dearer there than at *Rome*) and put it into his mouth to *ſpeak* his *fare* to the Πορθμεὺς, or *Ferriman, Charon:* the piece of money was called by the name of δανάκη, becauſe it was given τοῖς δανοῖς, which ſignifies the *dead*, from δανὸς, *dry*, becauſe of their *dry bones*. I remember the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to wait: —παρὰ τὴν Αὐλίνα λίθον) ſays that there was a ſtone which the Poet feign'd to be ἐν ἅδου, *in the place of the dead*, call'd by the name of *Auænus*, παρὰ τὸ αὖος τοὺ νεκρὸς εἶ), *becauſe the bodies of the dead muſt needs be as dry as duſt.*

Together with the money they threw in a morſel of pudding, or paſte, or Cheeſe, to give to *Cerberus* to ſtop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was uſually made of flower temper'd with honey (too good for a Dog) and therefore called more peculiarly μελιττοῦτα, and μελιττοῦτα· μελιττοῦτα· ἐδίδοτο τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς εἰς τὸ Κέρβερον, ſays *Suidas*, ſuch a kind of thing *Æneas* is ſaid to have given him, when he viſited the dead,

[c] *Melle ſaporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam* [c] *Æn. 6.*
Objicit —— ——

Apuleius ſpeaks of more pieces than one, *offas polentæ mulſo concretas*; and ſays, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in [d] *Luſiſtrate* us'd it but in the ſingular number, [d] Ariſtophan.

—συρὸν ὠνήσει
Μελιττοῦτταν ἐγὼ κἀν δὴ μάξω.

It may be the ſame Poet alluded to this cuſtome in thoſe words of his in *Pace*,

Οὔτ' ἄλφιτ' ἔστ' τυρὸν ὡς ὑπολύμῳ.

CAP. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali.

IF the party deceaſed were free of the City, the Κλαγγῶν (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowels, and with heated water, which they put into a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpoſe, waſhed the body: as thoſe [a] did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her *in the upper room.* This Λοῦτρα παννύχια (as [b] *Electra* call'd it in the Poet) was a thing accounted ſo neceſſary, that *Socrates* (as it is in [c] *Plato*) when he intended to drink his own death in a health, thought it beſt to ſet about it himſelf a-forehand, and ſave the Women a labour: Ὅρα τραπέζῃ πρὸς τὸ λοῦτρον, δοκεῖ γὰρ μᾶλλον βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πρὶν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ πολλὰ γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λούειν. Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſtis*, when ſhe intended to dye for her Husband. Says the Poet,

[a] Acts c. 9. v. 57.

[b] Eurip. v. 157. Electra.

[c] *In* Phædone.

[d] Eurip. *Alc.* v. 116.

[d] Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤδη νὺξ ἡμέραν τ' ἐκύρει
Ἦκουσαν ὕδατι πλαμίους λαβοῦσ' χρόα
Ἐλούσω'——

When ſhe perceiv'd the day appointed near,
She waſh'd her ſelf in River water clear.

[e] *Apud* Eurip. In alluſion to this cuſtome [e] *Iphigenia* in her dream, fell a-waſhing one of the Pillars of the ruined Houſe, when ſhe fanſied to ſee,

Ὑδραίνον αὐτὸν ὡς θανούμενον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Son, and concluding the death of that Son by the waſhing of the Pillar. To this waſhing, (it may be) alludes that expreſſion of *Strepſiades* to his Son in *Ariſtophanes*'s *Nubibus*,

Ὥσπερ πνεύτῳ καταλύει με τὸν βίον.

He caſteth aſperſions upon my life, and waſheth me as if I were dead.

This work was indeed proper to the Women, but in caſe of neceſſity others might ſerve. And therefore in [f] *Galen* you ſhall find the *Cynicks* themſelves a-waſhing poor *Theagenes*,

[f] *De Method. Medendi. l.* 13. c. 15.

genes, becauſe he had neither Wife, nor Child, nor chick of his own to doe it. Having waſhed the body, they anointed it with Ointments, and poured *Ambroſia* upon his head and face, as *Homer* ſays, *Jupiter* bid them doe to [g] *Sarpedon*, [g] *Il.* 11.

χεῖσον τ' ἀμβροσίῃ ——

Having done this, they wrapt the body in a fine Garment, woven (it may be) long before by his [h] Wife, or ſome other friend for the purpoſe: having alſo τὰ κειρία bands or liſts of Cloath, to tye the hands and the feet withall, ſuch as [i] *Lazarus* had. *Feralibus amiculis obſtrictus*, ſays [k] *Apuleius*. The colour of the Shrowd (if my memory fail not) was white among the Grecians, but black with the Latins. [h] Homer. *Odyſſ.* 1. [i] John, *c.* 11. *v.* 44. [k] Metam. *l.* 10.

CAP. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis. De coronis, quibus corpora ornabantur, de lecto, & de collocatione.

HAving thus cloath'd him with his Winding-ſheet, and his πίπλα · next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐστέφανο τοῖς νεκροῖς ὁ στέφανος, ὡς τῷ βίον διηγωνισμένοις, ſays *Suidas*, *as they would doe to one that had run out his race, or fought it out*: and with the like ſignification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the ſame reaſon: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In alluſion to theſe Garlands, *Euſtathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Son, makes him ſay, [a] πῶς σε καταστεφανώσω τοῖς δάκρυσιν, *how ſhall I crown thee with tears?* an example of this practice you may ſee in *Euripides*: where *Talthibius* ſpeaks to *Hecuba* to doe it to *Aſtyanax*, in the abſence of his Mother, thus, [a] *L.* 10. *Iſm.*

—— [b] πίπλοισιν ὡς θᾶσσον νεκρὸν
Στεφάνοις θ' ὅση σοι δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ πρίν. [b] Eurip. *Troad.* *v.* 1143. Artem. *l.* 1. *c.* 14.

After they had done this, they ſet him on the ground, with his *feet* outward toward the *gate*: as being never to put his foot in the houſe again. Then they took him and put him into a Couch or a Bed (τὸ λέκτρον) to be in a readineſs to be

carried to his Bed, for ſo *Lycophron* calls the Grave Εὐναστήριον, as it is likewiſe termed Κοιμητήριον, and ſo the dead are called εὕδοντες, and καλακοιμηθέντες, for death is a long ſleep, as ſleep is a ſhort death. The Couch was alſo adorned with Garlands made of all ſorts of Herbs and Flowers, (as [c] *Euripides* ſays) ὅσα χθὼν καλὰ φέρει βλαστήματα, but eſpecially of Olive, which they uſed in Victories. Having thus adorned it, they *placed it*, or *ſet it forth* at the doors, as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was,

——ἀνὰ πρόθυρον πεπαμένον.

This placing of him they called προτίθεσθαι, *Collocare*, *Laying forth* (as we call it) as it is in *Alceſtis*,

[d] ——κἀ προτιθέντα νεκρόν.

During the πρόθεσις, and all the time till the ἐκφορὰ (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth, *efferebatur*, ἐξεκομίζετο, as S. *Luke* ſaith, (whether out of the Houſe or the City, there ſtood at the door, a great earthern Veſſel filled with Water, which they fetcht from another houſe, for the people to waſh in, that came in and out. This Veſſel is called by * *Heſychius* χύτρα, by *Pollux* ἀρύταινον, and by *Ariſtophanes* ὄστρακον in that [f] place where he ſpeaks of the λήκυθοι too, that is the Pots for Ointments, wherewith they anointed the body: as likewiſe of ſtrewing of *Origanum* (they ſay it is for good hearts *origanum tueri*) and of Vine-branches, for what uſe I know not, unleſs it were to lay the Corpſe upon in the time of anointing, or elſe to make the Torches of them: for of ſuch ſtuff Torches were commonly made; as *Euſtathius* ſays, ὄφανδς, was ἡ ἐκ κληματίδων λαμπάς. And ſo our Poet in *Lyſiſtrate* calls it τὸ ἀμπέλου φανὸν, pray take his own words, for the great pot of Water, the leſſer pots of Ointment, and Vine-branches together,

Ὑποσύρεσθαι νιν πρόσθεν τὸ δεινόν
Καὶ κλήμαθ' ἅπαντες συγκλάσαντα τέτταρα
Καὶ ταινίωσαι, κἀκφέρειν τοὺς λεκύθους
Ὑδατίς τε καλὰ θὔστρακον πρὸ τοῦ θύρας.

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alceſtis* (*verſe* 99) one makes a doubt whether the Woman were indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe he could not ſee any ſpring

[c] *In* Hel.

[d] Eurip.

* *C.* 7. *v.* 11.

[f] *In Eccleſ.*

ſpring Water πηγαῖον χέρνιβα (as he calls it, for ſuch it ſhould be) ſtanding at the door as the cuſtome was.

The waſhing it ſelf was called λέεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκρῦ, like the Iſraelites βαπτίζεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκρῦ, which we reade of in *Eccleſiaſticus, cap.* 34. *v.* 25. and in *Numbers, c.* 19. *v.* 11. The Romans uſed *Suffitionem, a perfuming of the houſe:* for they thought the whole houſe polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And ſo did the Greeks too, as may appear by thoſe words of *Helena*, and the Poet,

ε Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δώμαθ' ἑστία δὲ ἐνδαίσε
Ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε Μενέλεως ———
Our houſe is clean, for Menelaus *here*
Loſt not his life ———

ε Eurip. Hel. v. 1446.

CAP. XXIII.

De ritu efferendi & portandi Corporis.

THE beſt time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day, and not in the night. And this I gather'd by thoſe words in the Poet, wherein *Caſſandra* the Fortune-teller, threatning *Talthibius*, told him his fortune to be buried in the night, (clean contrary to the judgment of many now-a-days, who make it an honour, for the better ſort,) ſays ſhe,

ª Κακὸς κακῶς ταφήσῃ νυκτὸς, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

ª *Id. in Troad.* v. 446.

Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sun riſing

—— (ᵇ ὡς ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς.

ᵇ *Il.* 11.

ſays *Homer* in the Funeral of *Hector*) *at break of day*, up the Corpſe is mounted, and carried along moſt bravely ὥσπερ εἰς πομπὴν κεκοσμημένος (ſays ᶜ *Lucian*) in pomp, as if it were intended for a *ſhew*. Now it was carried (ſays the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* οὐκ ἐπὶ ὀχέων τινὸς, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, not in any Litter or Coach, *&c.* but upon mens ſhoulders up aloof ἀρσίων, as *Euripides* calls it, ſpeaking of *Alceſtis*, where he ſpeaks alſo of Πρόπολοι, *Servants*, (I ſhould have thought the bearers had been ſome of the kindred rather) that thus carried the Corpſe;

ᶜ *De Luctu.*

ᵈ Πρόπολοι

[d] Περίπτολοι

[e] Eurip. *Alc.* v. 607.

Φέρουσι ἄρδιν πρὸς πάτρας, ἢ πυρὸν.

In the like ſenſe he uſes the word φορεῖδιν in another Tragedy; where ſpeaking of *Rheſus* his being *trudg'd* away to be buried by his Mother *Terpſichore*, when *Ulyſſes* had ſlain him,

Τὶς γὰρ κεφαλῆς ὁ θεὸς, ὦ βασιλεῦ
Τὸν νεόδμητον ἐν χεροῖν
Φορεῖδιν πέμπει ———

If the party died of a violent death, eſpecially in a fight, they uſed to carry forth Spears and other Arms and Armour along with the Corpſe, as the *Arcadians* did at the Funeral of *Pallas*,

——*Haſtam alii, galeâmque ferunt*——

And it is likely they held thoſe Spears at the wrong end too, as the cuſtome is with us at the burial of a Souldier, and as *they* did then,

——*& verſis Arcades armis.*

As the Corpſe was a-carrying forth from the Porch, it ſeems that they uſed ſome ſpeech or other, as to the party deceaſed, either to commend him for his vertues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernal Gods, to whom he went, or to bemoan his departure; for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Phera* concerning his Wife,

* Eurip. *Alc.* 608.

* Τιμᾶις γ' ἅ θανοῦσαν, ὡς νομίζεθ',
Πρωτεῖα λαβοῦσ' ἐξιοῦσαν ὑστάτῳ ὁδόν.

Thoſe that accompanied the Corpſe, and were invited to the Funeral, ſometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they honoured very much) and ſometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick [f] perſon, or one of great note, they were all clad in White, and adorned with Garlands. In going to the Grave the manner was for the Men to walk ſtately before the Corpſe, and the [g] Women (but not unleſs they were threeſcore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a πίπλον about her, whatſoever that was.

[f] Diog. Laert. 110.

[g] Demoſt. *ad* Macart.

CAP.

CAP. XXIV.

De Miniſterio Funerarum & Siticinum.

TO ſet forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews had [a] מְקוֹנְנוֹת and the Romans *Præficas*: ſo *they* alſo had their ſinging Women of purpoſe to lead the dance, ἀοίδους, or θρήνων ἐξάρχους, as [b] *Homer* calls them; or πανδηρείας as *Nonnus*. And ſince vocal Muſick might be allowed, I marvell very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife ſhould be ſo ſtrict againſt any inſtrumental, either with the Harp or the Pipe,

[a] *See* Jerem. c. 9. v. 17.

[b] *Il.* Ω.

[c] Αὐλῶν δ' μὴ κλῆ' ἄσυ, μὴ λύρας κλύπ-
Ἔσω ——— [c] Eurip. *Alc.* v. 430.

Eſpecially conſidering the virtue ſuppoſed to be in it, of all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*: *Mortuos quoque ad ſepulturam proſequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum inſtituta ſanxerunt perſuaſione hac, quia poſt corpus anima ad originem dulcedinis muſicæ, id eſt, ad cœlum redire credatur.* Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not ſing πρὸς λύραν, in ſuch times of mourning, becauſe it was an inſtrument conſecrated to the ſervice of *Apollo*; for *Pæan's*, and ſuch merry Songs (as the reaſon is given by the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of the Poet in his *Phœniſſæ*, ἄλυραν δ' μῶσαν.) But for the *Pipe*, I never knew but that they might ſing πρὸς αὐλὸν, for elſe why were there Τυμβαῦλοι, *Pipers* among them? as there were *Siticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funeral, brought along with them † κόσμον, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands, or to put upon the Corpſe; ſuch as *Admetus* in [d] *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company beſides had given before,

[d] *In Alc. v.* 630.

Κόσμον δ' † σὸν ὅπως' ἡ δ' ἐκδύσεται.

I have ſome cauſe to think that ſome of thoſe κόσμοι which they carried, were the *Images* and the *Arms* of the Family of the party deceaſed (for ſuch they were wont to have among

among the Romans) the more to honour the Funeral. And if ſo, then thoſe περίθεων ἀγάλματα * (near the place above quoted) ſaid to be carried by thoſe which followed the Corpſe may be tranſlated *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it muſt needs be *grata munera*, it muſt be meant to the *Gods* of the dead, and not the *dead* themſelves.

* *Ib. v.* 612.

But yet after all this, you may doe well to take notice, of a great deal of difference in the Pomp, according to the age of the party deceaſed: for ſuch as had more age had more honour than others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alceſtis*) of a great deal more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger ſort, he replyed, by no means; for,

Κἂν γραῦς ὄληται, πλουσίως ταφήσεται.

If old ſhe die, ſhe will be richly buried.

And here, becauſe I have ſuch an occaſion given me, before I go any farther with the Corpſe, I will make bold to tattle a little more than I thought to have done, concerning the cuſtoms uſed in mourning at Funerals, or any other time. And firſt, of the cutting of the hair.

CAP. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE *Grecians*, upon any extraordinary occaſion of ſorrow and *baldneſs* (as the *Hebrews* ſay) uſed to cut their hair ἐν χῷ (as they call'd it) or ſhave it cloſe to the skin. For ſo much may be gathered by thoſe words of *Lyſias* (cited by *Ariſtotle* in his * Rhetoricks) which he had in his ſpeech for the *Corinthians*, that died in the fight with the *Perſians* at *Salamis*, ſays he, Ἄξιον ὦ ὅτι τοῦ τάφου τοῦ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τελευτησάντων κείρασθαι ἅπ' Ἑλλάδα, *It had been no leſs than deſert, if all Greece had been ſhaved at the burial of thoſe gallant ſouldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this ſuffice not, you may take the teſtimony of *Euripides*, who would have the whole Countrey of the *Cyclopians* to doe the like,

* *L.* 3. *c.* 10.

—ἰαχεῖτε

——ἰαχεῖτο ὑ Κυκλωπεία
Σἰδαρον ὁπὶ κροτα πηδεῖσα κέρειμον.

And he himſelf when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourned for after this manner, by no worſe man than *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this cuſtome, *Strabo* ſpeaks of a Town in *Cappadocia* called *Comona*, from the *mourning hair*, cut in that place by *Oreſtes* and *Iphigenia*. So you ſhall meet with the like practice of *Tellus* in the behalf of *Phaeton*: and of *Bacchus* the God (as *intonſus* as he was) for the loſs of his Wife. Nay you ſhall find *Job* himſelf at this very work upon the news of his Childrens death. And in the Prophecy of [a] *Jeremy* you may reade, *Cut off thy hair, and caſt it away, and take up a lamentation.* 'Tis true, they were to be blamed for theſe follies, and in [b] *Cicero* you ſhall meet with a ſaying of *Bion* himſelf, deriding the uſe of this cuſtome in *Agamemnon*: *Perinde ſtultiſſimum Regem in luctu capillum ſibi evellere, quaſi calvitio mæror levaretur*, as if he aggravated the former loſs of his friends, with another of his hair. What if it be objected to all this, (which we confeſs to be true too) that it was a cuſtome to cut the hair in token of joy? For, firſt, Among the Jews, if you look into the Bible, you ſhall find *Joſeph* cutting his hair, when he came out of priſon; and *Jonathan*'s Son, when he met with *David*, for joy doing the like. Nay that action of *Job* it ſelf, is by *Origen* (the *Allegorical* Interpreter) thought to have been an expreſſion not of ſorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a chearfull patience under his affliction. Secondly, Among the Romans, you know their *ſqualid priſoners* let their hair hang down long, that they might look the more *dejected*, and ſo move the Judges to pity when they came to be tried,

[c] *Aſpice demiſſos lugentis more capillos.*

Whereas after their abſolution or releaſement, they preſently cut it. And therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epiſtles interprets his dream of the cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from ſome imminent danger. And laſt of all for your Greeks themſelves, that they let their hair grow long in times of ſadneſs, may appear by that of *Lycophron*,

[a] *C. 7. v. 29.*

[b] *Tuſc. Q. l. 3.*

[c] Ovid. *in Epiſt.*

Κρασὶς δ' ἄκρᾳ νῶτα καλυνεῖ φόβη
Μνήμιλλο παλαιὸν τημελῶς' ὀδυρμάτων.

And that they *cut it* in times of *joy*, will be out of queſtion, if we believe *Artemidorus*, who ſays that δεῖ γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς κερῆναι καὶ τὸ χαρῆναι, *the word for rejoycing comes from the word which they uſe for cutting the hair.* To reconcile theſe things perhaps it may ſuffice to ſay, That cutting their hair ſhorter by way of a κῆπος, or a *trimming* (as we call it) was a token of joy; but ſhaving it cloſe, even to *baldneſs*, of ſorrow and dejection; as among the Jews, [d] *weeping, and mourning, and baldneſs* were joyned together. I know there are ſome, that think to reconcile all, by ſaying as *Plutarch* ſays (in *Romaicis*) παρ' Ἕλλησιν ὅταν δυσυχία γένηται, κείρονται μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες, κομῶσι δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, that *the Women expreſſed their ſorrow by cutting their hair, and the men letting it grow.* Which may be likely enough, becauſe in ſorrow, people out of a dejected careleſneſs, love to appear as unhandſome as may be, and contrary to the uſual faſhion: now it was accounted a handſome thing, (and ſo it was the cuſtome too) among the Greeks, for Women to wear their hair long, and the Men to wear it ſhort. But how is it then that in * *Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long hair?

[d] Iſai. c. 22. v. 12.

* *In Heaut. Act.* 2. *Sc.* 2.

Capillus paſſus, prolixus, circum caput
Rejectus negligenter.

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in Funere.

WHen any diſaſter befell ſuch as were near of kin unto them, ἐ θαμίδι, *&c.* it being a time for ſadneſs, they forbare to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men *glad*) and confined themſelves to that which the Scholiaſt calls ἀλφίτων κυκεῶνα, a *Barly maſh* (Ale it's like.) But ſorrow muſt be more than negative: and therefore, Firſt, They uſed to tear their clothes and their hair, after the manner of the Hebrews, and ſometimes to fling their Veils

Veils in the fire, (not in healths, but in ſobs and ſighs) as it is in *Rheſus*,

[a] Καὶ συμπυρῶσαι μυείαν πέπλων χλιδήν. [a] Eurip.

2. To throw their faces in the duſt, or the duſt in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

[b] *Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultúſque ſeniles*
Fœdat humi fuſos—— [b] Ovid. *Met. l.* 8. *fab.* 9.

Or ſometimes aſhes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourned for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sons at the Leaguer of *Thebes*,

——[c] ἀμφὶ δ' ἀποδὸν
Καρηκεκόμεσθα—— [c] Eurip. *Suppl.* *v.* 826.

3. Κόπτεσθαι (which is uſed for πενθεῖν) to beat their breaſt and their thighs, and cut and tear the fleſh like a Jew: as one ſays,

[d] Ἀμύσσεται χρόα καλόν. [d] Smyrnæus. ϛ'.

Making ſtreaks and *furrows* with their nails in their face (as *Euripides* uſes the word ὠλακίζειν,

——[*] ὄνυξιν ἠλακίσμεθ'.) [*] *In* Hel.

4. To drain, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection ἒ, ἒ, ἒ, ἒ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon [f] *Ariſtophanes*) comes the word ἔλεγος to be uſed for a Song of Lamentation, *viz.* ἀπὸ τῦ λέγειν ἒ. [f] *In Avib.*

But at a Funeral, ſo immoderate were they (eſpecially the Women) in theſe and the like expreſſions of ſorrow, that *Solon* was fain to make this Law of purpoſe to reſtrain them, [g] *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve leſſum funeris ergô habento,* *Let no Women*, &c. Their cuſtoms they uſed at ſuch times were theſe. Firſt, when they came forth of the houſe (and not onely at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his hair, and it is noted by the [h] *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practice, where he ſhews how it could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* was indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe neither the pot of holy water, nor ſo much as a lock of hair could be ſeen at the door, as they were wont to be, [g] Cic. *de Legib.* [h] Eurip. *Alc.* *v.* 100.

Χαῖτα τ' ἄπης ἐπὶ πεδύρῳ τομαῖ-
Ος, ἢ λὶ νεκύων πέπλοισι πίπτει.

2. As they went along with the Corpſe, they kept their head cloſe covered, and their faces, as other people doe. And therefore *Oreſtes*, when he bid *Electra* leave [i] mourning, ſays he

[i] *See* Eſther. c. 6. v. 12. *and* Jer. c. 14. v. 3.

——— ἀνακάλυπτ' ὄμμ' ἐμοῖν κασίγνητον κάρα,
Ἐν δακρύοις τ' ἀπίλα' ———

Be uncover'd, &c.

In the like manner *Theſeus* (as it is in another [k] Tragedy of the ſame Poet) when *Adraſtus* came to petition his help καλύπτρης χλανιδίοις, all bemuffled and covered in the habit of a Mourner, ſaid to him,

[k] *In Suppl.* v. 100.

Λέγ' ὀμμαλύψαι κρᾶτα καὶ πάρα γόον.

They uſed likewiſe to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our heads upon our hands.) So [l] *Helen* ſays of the Trojans,

[l] *Id.* Hel. v. 376.

Ἐπὶ δ' κεφαλὶ χέρας ἔθηκαν.

3. Their manner of *going*, was to tread as ſoftly as they could with their feet, and make no noiſe with their tongues (I mean the reſt of the company, and not thoſe which they got for the purpoſe to weep)

Σίγα, σίγα λεπτὸν ἰχνεύουσ' ἀρβύλης
Τιθεῖτε, μὴ κλύπτητε, μήδ' ἔτω κλύπτε.

[m] L. 1. c. 21. v. 27. ſays the *Chorus*. In the Book of [m] Kings, 'tis ſaid that *Ahab* lay in Sackcloth ויהלך אט and *went ſoftly*, and ſo [n] *Iſaiah* ſays, *I ſhall go ſoftly all my years in the bitterneſs of my ſoul* אורה though I know ſome Tranſlations render it otherwiſe.

[n] C. 38. v. 15.

4. When they come to the place of burial (for I mean to end the Mourning firſt, and then to come to the reſt) they would cut off all the beſt locks of their hair (πλόκαμον or βόστρυχον) and lay them on the grave, or caſt them into the fire. And this they called πλοκίων κουρὰν and στενακωκύτους πλοκάς (as it is in *Ariſtophanes*) or πλεκτὸν βόστρυχον (as in *Æſchylus*) or κεφάπομον χλιδὴν (as in *Sophocles*) or ἀπαρχὰς τ' κόμης (as it is every where.) All their *beſt locks* I ſaid, for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles* was very angry with *Helen* for dealing πανούργως, *deceitfully*, and hiding the beſt of her hair to ſave it at the burial of *Clytemneſtra*, for indeed ἔδει πᾶν κἀπ' ἀλήθειαν ὀρυγῆναι πάντα τ' πλόκαμον τμηθῆν, *they ſhould cut it all*, ſaith

ſaith the Scholiaſt upon that Poet: who in another place has given a reaſon or two for the action, *viz.* Firſt, To make them ſeem ſqualid, careleſs, and contemptible; whereas locks, Ἀκρότης καὶ καλλωπισμὸν ἐμπαρέχει, *are uſed for ornament, and ſpruceneſs,* as being πυρὸν ἡ κεφαλῆς (as I may ſay) the *Luxury of the hair.* Then, 'tis known that the Greeks were κομηκομώντες, and uſed to wear their hair long οὐ μόνον εἰς κάλλος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φοβερὸν, ſays the [o] Scholiaſt, both to *pleaſe their friends and to fright their enemies.* Nay, they took ſuch a *pride* in having it ſo, (calling themſelves Ἀκερσᾶται, and ſuch as cut it too ſhort κειρῆδες) that κομᾶν, ſignifying to wear hair long, has been uſed to ſignifie to be [p] *proud.* Secondly, Ἵνα διὰ τοῦτο πένθους ἴλεως αὐτοῖς ὁ νεκρὸς ᾖ, *To get the good will of the deceaſed party, and the Manes.* Some again ſay it was done to none but a Parent, or a Foſter-father, or Mother by the way of thanks for their education, and ſo they call'd it θρεπτήρια ποιεῖν, ἀντιτιθέναι τὰς ἀναξυρίδας. But why then ſhould [q] *Hercules* doe it to *Soſtratus,* he who was but his *Ganimede?* Laſt of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the ſpace of eleven days) the Women were not to wear any [r] Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle-light (which two at firſt were but one thing, *viz.* † Wood for heat and light too.) λύχνος ἅπτειν ἐν πένθει ἢ θέμις, ſaith an old Gloſs, and to this cuſtome ſome do refer that in the Satyriſt,

[s] *Pullati proceres, &c.*
——*tunc odimus ignem.*

If the Mourning were for a publick Calamity, all the *Paleſtræ,* and *Gymnaſia,* muſt be ſhut up, together with the Baths and the Shops, and the Temples themſelves. But it is time to return to the Corpſe, and ſee it buried as ſoon as I can, for fear of giving offence (as I told you before.)

[o] *Il.* 6'.
[p] *Il.* Ψ'.
[q] Pauſan.
[r] Lycophr.
† *Vid.* Suid. *in* φρυκλὸς *&* Heſych. *in* δᾳλός.
[s] Juven. *Sat.* 3.

CAP.

CAP. XXVII.

De via per quam efferebatur Corpus, & de loco Sepulturæ.

THE ordinary way by which the Corpſe was carried, was the Gate called Ἠιόνιαι, ſo called becauſe they led to the Ἠιόνα, the *Graves*, or the *Common place of Burial*. This gate is ſometimes called Ἱεραὶ πύλαι, [a] *ſacræ portæ*, whether in oppoſition to the πύλαι σποράδες (in *Plutarch*) or the χαλκόνειοι πύλαι (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture-phraſe, or *Scelerata porta* as the Romans doe) by which they dragged the Malefactours, I am yet to ſeek: for Malefactours were to be buried without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It ſeems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by Nature alike unclean and ſo took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

[a] Theoph. π'. Ἀναίδ. J. Pollux.

The place of burial in ancient times for a King, or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a Hill, (to ſhew that he might not be a [b] *Mountain* for ever) according to that in *Lycophron*,

Τρίτωνες ὄχθῳ παρχυσόῃσι κεκλίφθαι νόπου.

Or that of [c] *Virgil*,

——*fuit ingens Monte ſub alto*
Regis Derceni terreno ex aggere buſtum.

[b] *Kings and Princes are ſo called in Scripture, as in* Iſaiah 41. 15, *&c.*

[c] *Æn.* 11.

[d] *Aurelius* ſays of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *ſepultus circa radices Montis, cui ex ſe nomen dedit*, unleſs you will ſay that thoſe *Montes* were nothing but *that* in a larger ſize, which *Tumuli* were in the *diminutive*: and ſo the Hills muſt be made by the burier, as * *Lucan* ſays,

[d] *Lib. de Orig. Gent. Rom.*

* *L.* 8.

Et Regum cineres extructo Monte quieſcant.

But for men of a lower rank, till the days of King *Cecrops*, it went no higher than a Pit or a Cave, according to that of † *Theognis*,

† *V.* 244.

——ὑπὸ κεύθμασι γαίης
Βῆς πολυκωκύτους εἰς ἀΐδαο δόμους.

'Tis

'Tis true, that in after-times there were two common Church-yards (as I may say) appointed for the purpose, called by the name of οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ, *Potters fields*, ὁ μὲν ἔσω ὁ δὲ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, *one within the Walls, and the other without. Aristophanes* in his *Ranæ*, calls them τὰς ταφὰς, the *Burials* or the *Buryes*. That burial place within (otherwise called Δημόσιον σῆμα by *Thucydides*) was for those that made an honourable end in the Field for the good of the *Commonwealth*: the manner whereof I shall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was distinguished into several fields, and enclosures. And therefore we shall reade that sometimes close to the Gates, sometimes by the way sides, according to that of *Hector* in [f] *Euripides*,

[f] *In Rhes.* v. 880.

——νεκρὸς
Θάπτειν κελεύειν λαοφόρους πρὸς ἐκπύλους.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOW for the usage of the Bodies: when they came to the place of Burial, says the Scholiast upon [a] *Homer*, Τὸ παλαιὸν τὰ σώματα τεθνηκότων πρότερον ἐκαίετο διὰ τὸ ἀπέρειπτα γίνεσθαι, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἐθάπτετο ὑπὸ γῆν, the custome was at first to burn them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam.* 10. *Animam, quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi se igni lustraverit petere sedes inter astra.* And the reason was, says that Scholiast, *Because by this means the body might presently consume all away to nothing.* But that custome (I know not for what reason) was not so well liked by other people, insomuch that the *Magi*, among the [b] *Persians*, thought it ἀνόσιόν τι, *a thing most prophane* (I fear me more for the *Fire* than any thing else) and therefore at length it came to be less used, so as sometimes they would burn them, and sometimes onely cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no necessity that τύμβος, a *Grave*, should come from τύφεσθαι, τετῆχθαι καίεσθαι, *to burn*, as the Scholiast upon *Aristo-*

[a] *Il.* A.

[b] Diog. Laert. l. 10.

Ariſtophanes would have it. But for ought I can find, even in after-times, among the Greeks, burial by burning, was ſtill eſteemed the more honourable and ſtately way of the two: as may appear by their unwillingneſs to have it common; for they denied the uſe of it, Firſt, to Infants. Secondly, to ſuch as kill'd themſelves. Thirdly, to ſuch as were kill'd with Lightning or *Fulguribus*, *ſtruck with the Planet* (as we ſay) who were to be buried there where they died, or at leaſt in ſome peculiar place apart, as we do thoſe that Hang themſelves, or the like. And thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* ſtoned to death, as he was ſcaling the Walls (a thing invented by him as ſome report) becauſe they imagined him to have been ſhot to death by *Jupiter*, muſt needs be buried χωὶς, *ſeorſum*, ſo *Adraſtus* ſays in *Euripides*,

Ἢ χωὶς ἑζῆν, ὡς νεκρὸν δάλου θέλεις.

And laſtly, To Traytors: on whom they were loath to beſtow any Burial at all. Inſomuch that *Themiſtocles* having been dead long before in *Magneſia*, the *Athenians* in time of a Peſtilence, though they had expreſs command from the Oracle, to fetch his Bones and bring them to *Athens*, could by no means be permitted by the Magiſtrates to doe it, in regard he had dealt with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Countrey, and therefore having obtained fifty days time to celebrate his Funeral, as the faſhion was (as I may ſay) *in his Picture*, having erected a Tent, cloſely conveyed thither his Bones, and hid them in the ground. The Original of this Law the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the ſiege of *Troy*, threatned whomſoever he found leaving his place treacherouſly in the fight, to kill him himſelf, adding withall,

——— ὃ δ' ὃν πύγῃ
Γνωλοίτε γνωλάτε πυρὸς λελάχων θανόντα.

Upon which words you have this Scholy, Ἐνθεῦθεν νόμος ἢ ἀποθάπτειν μὴ θάπτεσθαι, παρὰ τοὺς νομοθετήσαντας ἐκπύστου, *Hence came the Law*, &c. But I muſt tell you after all this, that however *burning* and *burying* are ſo near in their ſound, they have been far enough diſtant in their being; at leaſt in ſome Coun-

Countries. For at *Rome* it was not uſed in *Macrobius* his time. Among the *Greeks* indeed it may be rather thought to have been diſcontinued onely upon diſlike, than not to have been begun when it was not uſed. For one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they eſteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to purifie, is reported by a Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, to have cryed aloud to *Prometheus* with theſe words, Ἐπαίρηξον, βοήθησον, καλόν εἰ δυναῖὸν ἂῦ πάλιν τὸ πῦρ, *O pray carry the fire back again where you had it.* The firſt that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*; Who deſiring of *Licymnius* to ſend his Son *Argius* to help him in the War with *Laomedon* for the Horſes, engaged himſelf by an Oath, to ſee him home ſafe to his Father again; but the Son being killed in the War, he took him and burnt him, and carried his Bones to his Father, σοφιζόμενος αὐτὸν, *putting a fallacy upon him*, as if he had his Son indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare Bones. And yet he uſed him better than *Cyniras* King of *Cyprus* did *Menelaus*, who, having promiſed him fifty Ships and Men, ſent him one true Ship, and pop'd him along with Ships and Men made of clay for the reſt. The ſtory is likely enough, but he that told me ſaid he did not believe it, and therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reaſon or two of the uſe of the cuſtome, either becauſe πᾶν τὸ νεκρὸν ἀκάθαρτον, *every dead thing is impure*, and ſo it had need to be purified: and the rather by fire, becauſe it was commonly uſed to ſuch a purpoſe, as being ἁγνιστικὸν, able to make that pure and chaſte, which before was adulterated with *heterogeneous* abaſements and alloys: whence *Euripides* ſays of *Clytemneſtra*'s body, πυρὶ καθαγνίσας. Or elſe to ſhew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a Coach to be joyned in ſociety with the Gods above, τὸ μὲν θεῖον τῦ ἀνθρώπυ ἀναφερηθὲν ὥσπερ ἐν ἁρμάτι πῦρ πυρὶ (how near this goes to expreſs the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) συμπίξαι τοῖς ἐρανίοις. Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried upon *Eagles Wings*: as I ſhall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is ſaid ἀνακλιθῆναι, *to be made again* by the fire, and

ſo to become κακὸς ἀθάνατος, as he calls it. Thus the naked * Sophiſters of *India* (πυρίκαυστοι) uſed to burn themſelves into that immortality, which they deſired of *Alexander*, when he put them to ask what they would.

* Cic. *Tuſc. Q.* L. 5.

CAP. XXIX.

De ritu Cremandi, ſive comburendi Corporis. De loculis & reliquiis.

THE manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood, and having laid the Corpſe on the top, to ſet it on fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he ſpeaks of *Hector*,

[a] Ἐν δ' πυρὴ ἵστατο μακρὸν ἐπ' ἤματι μηκάδα δ' ἔμελλον πῦρ.

[a] Il. ω'.

The wood was not always of one ſort. But ſometimes Oak, as in [b] *Euripides*, where you ſhall reade of κορμοὺς δρυὸς, *Oaken Billets*, at the Funeral of *Hercules* his Children. Sometimes Olive, as in [c] *Sophocles*. And ſometimes Pine, as in [d] *Athenæus*: unleſs ſhall I ſay, that he confined the uſe of it to the burial of Virgins. If the party had loſt his life in Shipwreck, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the Ship,

[b] Herc. *Fur.* v. 241.
[c] *In Trach.*
[d] L. 15.

—* *ut corpus ſepeliret naufragus ignis,*
Et collecta Rogum facerent fragmenta carinæ.

* Manilius. *l.* 4.

Thus to burn the Bodies they called it πυρᾶν τὰ σώματα, and the *Bone-fire* it ſelf πυρὰν.

All the while it was burning, the Mourners ſtood round about the Bone-fire, and prayed to the Winds to blow, (for ſo *Achilles* in *Homer* is ſaid to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burn the better. Not to put the Carcaſe (ſurely) but themſelves out of the pain. If there happened to be a very ſtrong wind juſt at the time, they embraced it as an excellent good *omen*. Still there was Κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that ſhould offer to meddle with the Bones. *Oſſa ne legito*, ſays the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine. And after that ἡ πυρὰ σὺν τοῖς

σωὶ τοῖς ὀστέοις ἠχώνιυον, [f] *they ſwept up the aſhes together in a heap.* The Bones they took and waſhed them in Water brought in χύτραις, pots for the purpoſe, by the [g] ἐνχυτρίστριαι, (women appointed for that work, and for bringing Milk, and ſuch other things as they uſed in the χοαὶ) and having anointed them with Ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrapped them in fine Linen, and put them into a Coffin which they called θήκλω or πύελον, or σορόν.

[f] *Il.* ψ'.

[g] *Etym. Mag.*

[h] Ὡς ὅ γ' ὄστεα νῶιν ὁμῆ σορὸς ἀμφικαλύπτοι. [h] *Il.* ψ'.

The Veſſel, whatſoever it was, is in *Lycophron* called κρωσσὸς, as if it were a Pot: and in [i] *Moſchus*, χρύσειοι κρωσσοὶ, as if it were wont to be *gilded.* And in [k] *Plutarch* λίθιον & σορὸς, as if it were wont to be Stone, methinks it may be called a Coffin, for I reade it was uſually made of Wood, *viz.* of Cedar, which is longeſt a rotting, and is therefore called νεκρῶν ζωὴ, *the life of the dead.* Indeed whether it were ordinary to have ſuch Coffins, or onely for thoſe that had *Sepulchra,* and Vaults of purpoſe under ground to ſet them in, I cannot well tell. But that there was ſuch a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word κέδρος, uſed ſometimes for the Cheſt it ſelf, does ſeem to declare in thoſe words of *Admetus* deſiring to lye with his Wife in the *Grave-bed* too,

[i] *Idyl.* 4.

[k] *In* Numa.

[l] Ἐν τοῦπὶν αὐτῆς γὸ μ' ὀπισκήψω κέδρους. [l] Eurip. *Alc.* v. 365.
Σοὶ τὰς ὅ θεῖναι πλευρὰς ——

A wiſh not unreaſonable, ſeeing the thing deſired was ſo uſual both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St. *Auſtin*'s own Mother was of the ſame mind: for why?

[m] *Quos certus amor, quos hora noviſſima junxit*
Componi Tumulo non invidiatis eodem.

[m] Ovid. *Met.* l. 4. *fab.* 2.

The *Athenians* indeed ſeldom put above one man's Bones in the ſame Coffin: but the *Megarenſes* many times four, ſays *Pauſanias.* The Bones which they kept, becauſe they were that which the fire *left*, were called λείψανα or *Reliques.* And they were thus kept, ſaith the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*; μήπως οἱ ἐχθροὶ, *&c.* leſt they ſhould be expoſed to the rage of *too deadly* enemies. If the party were burnt in a foreign Countrey, his Bones or his Aſhes were

carried home in the Coffin, and pompouſly ſhewed and adorned with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid*,

Oſſa tamen facito parvâ referantur in urnâ,
Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.

When they came where there were croſs ways, thoſe that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia* Feaſts, [n] θεῶν ἀγυιαίων ἑορταὶ αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν περιπόλων πῖς νεκροῖς. After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times ('twas a number very ſuperſtitiouſly uſed by all Nations) to make his appearance,

[n] *Vetus Gloſs.*

[o] *Magna manes ter voce vocavi.*

[o] Virgil.

(But of this already.) Now the place where the Coffin was put, was a Sepulchre common to all the reſt of the Family, onely ſuch as proved [p] unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of [q] ἀπάτωροι.

[p] Diog. Laert.

[q] Harpocr.

CAP. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THE cuſtomes uſed in a *cold* Burial were theſe; (and ſome of them uſed at a *burning* too: as the Sacrifice, the Speeches, and the Plays.) The peculiar place of Burial was uſually choſen before they died, and markt with a black ſtone, and when they came to be buried, a heap of earth thrown upon the body, ὡς ὀρθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλέως τάφῳ, &c. ſays *Ulyſſes* (in *Hecuba Euripidis,*) agreeable whereto is that phraſe of the ſame Poet in another place μητέρα ἐξόγκων τάφῳ, and the Latin word *Tumulus*, a *Heap* or a *Grave*. But (I think) for the better ſort, they made it higher, and a little handſomer, with ſtones, ſomewhat after the faſhion of our Tombs. For ſo *Theſeus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* ſhould honour his Corpſe — Λαΐνοισί τ' ἐξογκώμασι. Whether earth or ſtones, it ſeems they deſired to have it poliſhed, as neat as might be, faſt and ſmooth,

[a] *Ibid.* v. 836.

[a] Τύμβον καπύλῃ ξεσὸν,

ſays

ſays the ſame Poet in *Alceſtis*, and in *Helena*

—— [b] ὀπὶ ξεσῷ τάφῳ. [b] *Ibid. v. 992.*

The poſture which the body uſually had in the grave, was with the face towards the Eaſt, ſays *Diogenes Laert. in Democrito*; towards the Weſt, ſays *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the ſtone which I mentioned, was written the name and condition of the party deceaſed, which they deſcribed commonly in Verſe. *Plato* was for juſt four Heroick Verſes and no more. Such Epitaphs they called γνωρίσματα, becauſe they made *known* the party: as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memorias*, becauſe they made them *remembred*. And therefore the *Lacedemonian* Souldiers (ſays *Juſtin*) uſed to tye a *ticket* or a *note*, about their wriſts, to certifie of what condition they were; that in caſe they ſhould dye in the fields, they might have a Burial and a Monument according to their quality. Having thrown the earth upon him, the next work was to ſacrifice, and pray that it might not lye too heavy, *Sit tibi terra levis*. Such a prayer as the Chorus in *Euripides* uſed for *Alceſtis*,

—— κάρα σὸν
Χθὼν ἐπάνω πέπεσ', γύαις.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked [c] fellow, or a [d] Coward, ſo they thought it too little to be denied to another; and this made *Menelaus* to fear ſo little to dye, for, ſays he,

[c] *V.* 462.
[d] Κακός.

* Εἰ γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοὶ, * Eurip. *He.* *v.* 857.
Εὔψυχον ἄνδρα πλειόνων θανόντ' ὀφὼ
Κάρη καλαμπίπτουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονί.
Κακὸς δ' ὑφ' ἕρμα στερεὸν ἐκβάλλεται γῆς.

CAP. XXXI.

De Infernis.

THE manner of ſacrificing to the Infernal Gods, or the Gods of the dead (for *infernum* or ᾅδης or ᾅδου is a place for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar (ἐσχάραν) (per-

(perchance to get the nearer to them) according to that practice in *Ovid*,

* *Met. l. 7.* * *Haud procul egestâ scrobibus tellure duabus*
Sacra facit.

[a] *Odyss. 11.* The Victime then slain, was either a barren Cow, as [a] *Homer* says,

——τεῖρεν βοῦν, ἥτις ἀρίστη.

[b] *Æn. 6.* And [b] *Virgil*,

——*Sterilemque tibi Proserpina vaccam.*

Or else a black Sheep, such as the old fellow saw slain at the Grave of *Agamemnon*,

[c] Eurip. Electr. v. 513. [c] Πυρᾶς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὄϊν μελάγχιμον πόκῳ
Σφάγιον εἰσεῖδον——

[d] *In* Oedip. v. 556. And such as *Seneca* speaks of [d] *Nigro bidentes vellere, &c.* The reason why they made choice of this colour, was either because it suited best with *mourning*; or because it was to the *black gods* of the *dark*: For as * *Arnobius* says, *Diis lævis sedes habitantibus inferas color furvus est gratior.* Afterwards it

* *L. 7.*

[f] Plut. *in* Sol. rose to an Ox, till it was forbidden by [f] *Solon*. Whether it were Sheep or Bullock, or Hog: as it was best, if it were a splaid or a barren Female: so it might not be Ram nor Bull, nor Boar, *&c.* τὰ μὴ γονῶντα ζῶα, or ὅσα τε ἐστερέον, ᾗ

[g] Hom. *Il.* Ψ'. ὅσα μὴ ἦσαν ἔνορχα, says the [g] Scholiast; and that for the same reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offered down both their hair, and the Bristle hair of the Beast, which grew upon his fore-head, Ἀπαρχάς, *viz.* ὡς ἀψύχοις τὸ ὅμοιον ἀφοσιούμενοι, that they might not give the *dead*, either that which had life in it self, or that which could beget it in another thing. Those *setæ*, or bristle hairs, are in a peculiar manner termed ἀπαρχαὶ, and the offering thereof, ἀπάρχεσθαι, as in these words,

[h] *Il.* ξ'. ——[h] ἀπάρξομαι κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων
Ἀχιλῆϊ ——

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil*,

Et summas carpens media inter cornua Setas
Ignibus imposuit——

Yea not onely the beast which they *slew*; but all the rest which they suffered to live, in the time of a publick Funeral, came

came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appears by the practice of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horſes and Bullocks, and all at the Funeral of *Maſiſtius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the Funeral of *Hephæſtion* dealt with the Horſes and the Mules, and the Walls themſelves of the Town of *Ecbatanæ* περικειρας (as *Ælian* has it) *ſhaving* them ἐν χρῷ, *cloſe to the ground*. And, I remember, in [i] *Euripides*, *Admetus* deſiring to celebrate his wife's Funeral in the beſt manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horſes Manes to be all cut,

[i] *In* Alceſt. v. 439.

——— χὴ μονάμπυκας
Πώλους σιδήρεω τέμεσ' αὐχένων φόβην.

Then beſides the Victime they had τὰς χοὰς, *Libationes*, which was uſually μελίκρατον, hony, and milk, and wine; to which they added Cakes, if the Tranſlatour render it aright, ἐμπύρους ὀρθοκαίτας. In [k] *Euripides*, the manner of uſing theſe Liquors, was firſt to go round about the Grave, and pour out ſome, as they went, out of the Bottle (as he [l] ſays λύσας ἀσκὸν) and then to ſtand on the top, and do it there too, as *Sophocles* ſays κολώνης ἐξ ἄκρας, *&c.* As they offered they uſed certain ſpeeches to the party deceaſed, ſuch as that was,

[k] Hel. v. 554.

[l] *Id. in* Elect. v. 530.

Ἑλένη σ' ἀδελφὴ τῇδε δωρεῖται χοάς.

together with prayers to the Gods, and the Ghoſts of the dead to be propitious to them. And therefore thoſe χοαὶ, were uſually termed ἐνδυσήριοι, and θελκτήριοι, and κηλητήριοι χοαὶ: and they made choice of the moſt proper Liquors to ſweeten and ſupple them. Such a prayer is that in *Euripides* to the Ghoſt of *Achilles*, Ὦ παῖ Πηλέως, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς, δέξαι χοάς μου, τὰς κηλητηρίους νεκρῶν ἀγωγούς, *&c.*

Thoſe Sacrificing Offices were eſpecially to be performed by the Kindred too (as moſt of the reſt were) and therefore *Caſſandra* ſetting forth the ſad condition of the Leagurers at *Troy*, and their Friends at home, ſays ſhe, *Their Parents being thus bereft of their Children in the Siege,*

——— δὲ πρὸς παίδων
Ἔδ' ὅπως αὐτῶν αἷμα γῆ δωρήσεται,
——— *no body have*
To let a victime bloud upon their grave.

CAP.

CAP. XXXII.

De Coronandis Tumulis, & de Phyllobolia.

BEsides all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the Grave too, as there were before upon the Hearse and the Corpse: And this action they called στεφανῶν τὸ μνῆμα, and the Garlands themselves ἐρῶλαι, and that more properly than any of the former, as being not onely πεντεμιγεῖς, made of a *Collation* or a *Collection* of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be thrown ἐπὶ τῆ Γῆ, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower πόθῳ, (saith [a] *Athenæus*) and then the Garlands were called πόθοι too. And it may be sometimes of Σέλινῳ or *Apium* as I have occasion to think from that story of *Timolion*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Apium*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the use which they knew to be made of that herb in Funerals (whence the Proverb of one that is desperately sick δεῖται σελίνου, *that he needs Apium*) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *Nay rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an Omen of Victory, for there is use of the herb, when a man has won the best at fight, as well as when death hath given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Philostratus (in Heroicis)* attributed to the *Thessali*, when they did it to the Grave of *Achilles*. The reason of it, says [b] *Clemens*, was to express the quiet *condition* of the dead, and their freedom from care and trouble, ἀνοχλήτε ἀμεριμνίας ὁ στέφανῳ σύμβολον. But I rather think with the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it πρὸς τὸ τιμᾶν ὡς μάλιστα ἐξ ἧς νικήσαν, to honour the dead as they use to doe the living, when they won the Game. For the same reason, doubtless, was it, that they did φυλλοβολῆν (as they called it) fall a-throwing of boughs and leaves upon the Grave: as *Euripides* says, they did to *Polyxena* when she dyed (for in latter times, if a man had won a race or the like, they had a cu-

[a] *L.* 14 & 15.

[b] *Pædag. l.* 11. *c.* 8.

a cuſtome to bedeck his valiant Corpſe with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old Fellow in [c] *Euripides* with Myrtle, [c] Elect. v. 510.

——τύμβῳ δ' ἀμπέδησε μυρσίνας.

Whether was there any alluſion therein to the *golden bough* or no? I think not: but if you will, you may reade more of that bough in [d] *Virgil*, and in *Servius* his notes upon him. [d] Æn. 6.
It ſeems that in *Italy* they had the ſame cuſtome. For ſays [*] *Varro, ad Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they *carried leaves to caſt upon the dead.* And that they took the pains to make Garlands too, will appear by thoſe words of *Minutius Felix* to *Octavius, Coronas etiam Sepulchris denegatis, &c.* nay, *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, ſays my Authour, they came to Wool at laſt when they had more to ſpare. [*] L. 6. de L. L.

CAP. XXXIII.

De Columnis, de Oratione, & Ludis funebribus, & de Aquilis.

EIther upon, or cloſe by the Grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law. To the Pillar ſometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of ſomewhat elſe to reſemble him. Thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the Image of a Dog, for being a *Cynick*: and *Iſocrates* with the Image of a *Syren*, for being an *Oratour*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over conſtant love to his Wife; when he would get her Image curiouſly made, and have it lye in the Bed with him in her place, for ſo he tells her,

Σοὶ δ' ἔσται πολλῶν δέμας τὸ σὸν
Εἰκὼν ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκλιδίοισι.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private diſcourſe at home at the Feaſt, or by a publick ſpeech in the *Ceramicus*. Which ſpeech, if the party dyed in a Battel, was to be made by one appointed by the Magiſtrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not onely at the time of Burial, but every year after: as

[a] Lib. de Orat.

[a] *Cicero* says, *In Populari oratione mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prælio sint interfecti: quæ sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.*

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say, was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slain in the *Peloponnesian* War; and some, *Solon*. But besides funeral speeches, they had funeral *plays* too, ἀγῶνας ἐπιτα φίους both the Play and the Feast, commonly go under the name of τάφος.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, even in Burials, when they should have more wit: what will you say, if I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, *viz.* That even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practices, both unprofitable to the dead, and vain and foolish in the living, as may appear in the words of *Hecuba* her self, or the [b] Poet for her,

[b] Eurip. *Troad.* v. 1247.

Δοκῶ γὰ τοῖς θανοῦσι διαφέρειν βραχύ,
Εἰ πλουσίων τις τάφος κλεισμάτων
Κενὸν γαῖαμ' ἔχει θ' ὑπὲρ ζώντων τὸ δέ.
I think it boots the dead the least of all,
How rich or poor they have their Funeral,
'Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus disposed of the Body, they returned home. For the Soul they took no care, unless it were a King or a Prince, whose Souls they imagined ὀχεῖσθαι to be carried into heaven upon *Eagles wings:* and therefore was it, that they were [c] wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So at *Rome* when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly an Eagle over the Grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles*, Αἰὸν, an *Eagle*, because he carried about *Hector*'s Body in a Coach.

[c] Artemid. *l.* 2. *c.* 30.

CAP.

CAP. XXXIV.

De Luſtratione Domûs funeſtæ, & de Parentalibus, &c.

BEing come home, they fell a-purging and *luſtrating* the *houſe* with brimſtone; and *themſelves*, by going through the fire, or ſome other luſtration; for there were ſeveral ſorts thereof, and if I have leiſure, I may chance to ſpeak more of it. Thus I remember in the Poet, 'tis ſaid they did to the King's houſe, who was ſlain by *Hercules:* rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the δᾶλὸν in the holy-water, and I know not what more,

[a] Ἴσεσί μ' ὧδ' πάροιθεν ἐχάρας Διὸς
Καθαίρειν οἶκον.

[a] Eurip. Here. F. v. 923.

After this they kept a Feaſt, τὸ περίδειπνον, *ſilicernium*, or *circum potationem*, as the manner is with ſome of us. Thoſe that were at it, wore Garlands, as *Cicero* ſays, *quas inibant parentes coronati.* The colour of their apparel was white: *& quis unquam cœnavit atratus*, ſays [b] *Cicero.* But how is it then that [c] *Homer* makes *Thetis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son? So I remember *Admetus* in [d] *Euripides* bids them mourn for *Alceſtis*, ἐν μελαμπέπλῳ στολῇ, in black: and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the Funeral of *Adonis* κυανοστόλῳ in a *ſky coloured gown.* Perchance they wore black no longer than till it came to the Feaſt. This Feaſt they renewed again; not onely nine days after, when they called it ἔννατα, and thirty days after, when they called it τριακάδες (when they ſacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their Souls to the *fields*) but alſo upon the day of his death ever after; calling it Νεκύσια, and upon the day of his birth calling it Γενέσια. The common name for all the Feaſts, or the common feſtival for all the infernal Rites, and for all perſons, was Νεμέσια, uſually kept in the Month of *Antheſterion:* as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Month of *February*, *in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum*, when the kindred eſpecially, *(les parens)* did ſacri-

[b] *In vatinium.*
[c] *Il.* 24.
[d] Alc. v. 427.

fice both to the earth and the Gods under it, and the Ghosts of their Parents, or their Anceſtours above it.

Of all theſe funeral Rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the perſon deceaſed, might be ſuffered to bear any part: as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chryſothemis* forbidding her to ſacrifice,

Οὐδ' ὅσον ἐχθρὸς τὸ γυναικὸς ἱκάνει
Κτερίσματα ———

Nor ſo much as come near the Grave, as *Ulyſſes* in *Sophocles* is forbid to doe to the Grave of *Ajax*. Nay ſuch was *Sepulchralis ſanctitas*, (ſays *Tully*) that no *ſtranger* might be ſuffered to doe it, for fear he *might* be an enemy. Moreover a Law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or add any thing more to the Monuments, than what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the Body in the *Mouth* of death, (for ſo *Homer* calls the Grave) to be *gnawn like a ſheep*, by the never ſatisfied teeth of hungry [f] שאל. For τυμβόφαγος, he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the *belly* of the earth, is as properly ſaid to be devoured, as what is devoured and incloſed in the ſtomach of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous Creature, is commonly ſaid to be buried τυμβεύεσθαι. For ſo the *Vultures* are called [g] τάφοι ἔμψυχοι, *living Graves*. Nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themſelves, ſome of whom, even *their mouths are open ſepulchres*, as well as the bellies have been of others. As that of *Tereus* when he ate his Son,

— Séque vocat buſtum miſerabile nati.

And of *Saturn* when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted ſo ſynonymous, that (as [h] *Lactantius* ſays) *Saturn* was thought to have been ſaid to have eaten his Sons, becauſe he buried them where they might not be ſeen. Well, it cannot be helpt; theſe great eaters, Death and the Grave, are all mouth, and no ears, like the Belly. There's no ſtopping nor filling their mouths. Ἅιδης ἐν οὐδὲν βωμοὺς, ſays *Æſchylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*. He is inexorable, and therefore called ἀπρόσκοπος θεὸς in *Euripides*. Neither (ſays a [i] Scholiaſt) was Death ever known

f Pſal. 49. 14.

g Hermog.

h L. 1. c. 13.

i *On* Hom. *Il.*

to

to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not where. Let us ſee therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone.

His Wife, if ſhe ſeemed to be with Child, was taken into the care and protection of the *Archon*, leſt ſhe might be cunningly perſwaded to marry with whom ſhe ſhould not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the puniſhment was arbitrary. The Children were committed ἐπίτροπῳ to a *Tutor*. He that was ἐπιτροπεύειν, to be Overſeer or Guardian, was either not to be of kin at all; or elſe ſo far off, that if the Child ſhould happen to dye in his nonnage, the Inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by Will, or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way ſoever it were, he was παίδων ἀρχὸς (ſays *Æſchines*) and had the managing of all the affairs, till they came to be twenty years old: and then either they themſelves, or any elſe that would, might ſue out δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς a Writ *Malè adminiſtratæ Tutelæ*, and have him before the *Archon*. But this muſt be done within five years after the Pupil came to be of age, or not at all.

LIBER SEXTUS.

De Supplicationibus & Juramentis.

CAP. I.

De Supplicibus ſacris. De Aſylis & Ariis.

HAving taken this care to ſee the Marriage of Himſelf, the Education of his Children, and the honourable Burial of his Body, it will be expected, that now I ſay ſomewhat in commendation of his condition, SECT. II.

and

and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the Gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the Gods, because there has been something already done in that kind, I shall not speak so largely; onely a word or two, or more of the customs used in *Supplications* to, and in Swearing by the Gods, and then I shall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his Friends in making merry with his Equals, and giving to the Poor; or his Enemies in waging of War. This Treatise, because of the diversity of Subjects, I have divided into three several Sections, the first of Supplication, called by them ἱκέτεια.

The Person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused Slave, or the like) whether he addressed himself to Men, or to the Gods, but especially if to the Gods, was to be lookt upon as sacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, sent from *Dodona*'s vocal Forest to the *Athenians*, related by *Pausanias*,

Φεύζεο δ' Ἀφειούσῃ πάγαν βωμούς τε συώδεις
Εὐμηλίδων, ὅτι χρὴ Λακεδαιμονίων ἱκαζεῦσαι,
Δεινὰ παθοῦμᾶσι, καὶ μὴ σὺ κλέπτε σιδήρῳ,
Μηδ' ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἱκέτου ἱερόν τε καὶ ἁγνόν.

For if he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be Ἄσυλοι, none might touch him upon pain of exilement. And therefore is it that *Polydorus* in *Euripides* makes it such a ground for his confidence: says he,

——Βωμοὶ δ' ἐγγύθεν πόλεως πάρεισι,
The Altars are not far off.

So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat, [a] *What* (says he) *dost Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode?* And no wonder *they* thus fled to Altars, or that *others* feared to meddle with, or to slay any body near them, *viz.* Because they thought the bloud would be upon them that should doe it, yea though the Supplicants were already dead in the Law. For so the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creüsa*, *the Law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death. True* (says she) *but I must be killed by the same Law. No matter* (replies the Chorus) *sit fast, and if any one kill thee there,*

[a] Eurip. Hel. v. 805.

[b] Προσρύ-

[b] Πρόσθεν ἐμὸν αἷμα θύσεις,

Thy bloud ſhall be upon him.

[b] *Ib. v.* 1258.

Inſomuch that a great many even among them, ſeeing Malefactours thus protected from the *Law*, and conſequently encouraged to the *tranſgreſſion*, were bold to complain of the injuſtice of it, as you have *Ion* in the *Tragedy*, thus,

Φεῦ δεινόν γε, δυσὶν ποτὲ νόμοις ὡς ἐ καλῶς
Ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς, οὐδ' ὑπὸ γναμπτὸς σοφῆς,
Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκους βωμὸν οὐκ ἔζειν ἐχεῖν
Ἀλλ' ἐξελαύνειν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ψαύειν καλὸν
Θεῶν πονηρὸν χεῖρα.

I ſaid before, *ſuch or ſuch*: becauſe 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this privilege, but onely ſix, *viz. Miſericordiæ*, *Minervæ*, *Eumenidum*, *Munichiæ*, and two of *Theſeus*'s Temples, one within, and another without the Walls. The firſt of theſe ſome ſay was the firſt *Aſylum* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grandchildren, to preſerve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn.* 8. *Poſtquam Hercules migravit è terris, nepotes ejus timentes inſidias eorum quos avus afflixerat, Athenis ſibi primi Aſylum, hoc eſt, templum miſericordiæ collocârunt, unde nullus poſſet abduci.* An example imitated by other people, almoſt in every Countrey. For they thought that otherwiſe a Beaſt had a ſafer condition than a Man, ἔχει γὰρ καλαφυγὴν θὴρ μὲν πόρτιν, δοῦλοι δ' βωμὸς θεῶν. But is he now ſafe for ever? yes, unleſs they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we uſe to do Eels, *&c.* And thus he in [c] *Plautus* threatned to doe;

Ibo Herclè aliquò quaritatum ignem,
Ignem magnum hic faciam——

[c] *In Rud. Act.* 3. *Sc.* 4.

and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* ſheltring her ſelf by the Altar of *Thetis*, Πῶς σοι παρεστὼς—— on which the Scholiaſt thus, Ἐνθ' ἦν τοῖς βωμοῖς καταφεύγειν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, *&c.* And yet all Ἱκέται or Petitioners were not ſo afraid of a fire, as appears by the name of Ἑστιοῦχοι, which they have from flying to *hearths*, the place for the fire, for refuge: as *Themiſtocles* did, when being *Oſtraciſed* and baniſhed, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Moloſſi* for ſhelter. Otherwiſe none that

that fled thither could be ſo wicked, but they counted him worſe that ſhould meddle with him. Inſomuch that thoſe who killed the followers of *Cylon* (though they plundred the Temple of *Minerva*) becauſe they killed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themſelves, and all other ſuch *prophane* companions after them, called ἀλιτήριοι, as who ſhould ſay, *hinderers*, ἀπὸ λιτῆς, *of ſupplication*. Prophane, I ſaid, for it was no better than prophanation according to the [d] Poet, στέφη μιαίνεται, the Garlands are *polluted*.

[d] Eurip. *in Heracl.*

CAP. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

PEtitioners both to the Gods and Men, uſed to go with στέφανοι, Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands, [a] ἵνα αἰδήσιμοι δοκοῖεν τοῖς, οἷς ἱκέτευον (ſaith the Scholiaſt of *Sophocles*) to beget reſpect, and amuſe the beholders. Thoſe green boughs are called by the ſeveral names of δαφναῖ, φυλλάδες ἱκτῆρες, ἱκτήριοι κλάδοι, and ſometimes [b] ἱκετηρίαι, for *Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father ſhe would make her own body ſupply the room thus,

[a] *In* Oedip.

[b] *In Aul.* v. 1216.

Ἱκετηρίαν δ' γόνασιν ἐξάπτω σέθεν
Τὸ σῶμα τὸμὸν ———

In thoſe boughs they put Wool, (as we do Silk in Poſies) and ſo called them εἰρεσιώνας, *vittatas laureas*.

[c] Æſchyl. *in Eum.*

[c] Λήνει μειλίσσω σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένον
Ἀργῷ δ' μαλλῷ ———

The Wool was not ty'd and ſo faſtned to the boughs, but onely wreathed and wrapped up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthra*, in the Tragedy of the *Theban Women Petitioners* (v. 31.) called it δεσμὸν ἄδεσμον φυλλάδος, the *Tye without a Knot*. The *Italians* uſed ſuch boughs too, as it ſeems, for *Virgil* ſays,

Jamque oratores aderant ex Urbe Latina
Velati ramis olea veniámque rogantes.

And

And *Livy* ſpeaks of the like practice of the people of *Rhodes*. The boughs were either of *Laurel* or *Olive*,

[d] *Vittatæ laurus, & ſupplicis arbor Olivæ.* [d] Sta. *Thebd.* 12.

Firſt, becauſe both thoſe kinds are ἀειθαλεῖς *not ſubject to withering*, and therefore * *Euripides* gives the latter the Epithete of ἀκήρατος. Secondly, becauſe the Laurel was a ſign of *prevailing*, and the Olive of *peace* and *good will*, as *Lactantius* ſays *per quam pax petitur ſupplicando.* Now the cuſtome was with thoſe boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whom they petitioned, or of the Statue of the God, juſt as [f] *Lucretia* did γονάτων ἅπτε λαβοῦσα. But if hopefull, the *hands*, [g] ἐξιστόρει τὰ ἐμὴν χεῖρες σιγῶν. And if confident, the *chin*, and the *cheeks*, κἀς παρειὰς [h] γενείου. It is ſaid by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his Nem. (where the Poet deſires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he prays for a *Gale* of ſucceſs for the *Æginetæ*) that when they deſired the parties *conſent*, they touched the head to have it *annuere*; when his help, his *helping* hand; when ſucceſs, the knee. The laſt I know no great *reaſon* for, but *Hiſtory* enough, even from the *Natural Hiſtorian* himſelf. *Hominis genibus quædam religio ineſt obſervatione gentium; hæc ſupplices attingunt, ad hæc manus tendunt, hæc ut aras adorant.* All *his reaſon* is, becauſe of the abundance of ſpirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortaſſe quia ineſt iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate foſſâ, ſeu jugulo, ſpiritus fugiat.* And therefore *Homer* makes the *Litæ*, the *Petitioners Gods to be lame.* As good as that of *Zenobius*, ὅτι εἰ κρίλαι τῆς γόνασιν εἶχον, ἃ νῦν εἰς γραμματεῖα γράφεται, *becauſe* Judges *had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.*

If the Petitioners were very fearfull, and the perſons of very great quality, they would bow ſo low as to kiſs his feet: as thoſe did to [i] *Cyrus*, Κύρου κατεφίλουν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας. It was either this kiſs, or a kiſs of their own hand, which they anciently termed *labratum.* The *old gloſs* calls it φίλημα βασιλικὸν, ἢ ἀσπασικὸν βασιλέως. I have read of a kiſs of the hand, when they did their reverence to the Gods, with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they uſed in counting the number of

* *In Ion.* v. 1436.

[f] Dion. Halic. *l.* 4.

[g] Soph. Oed. *T.*

[h] Eurip. *in Heracl.*

[i] Xenoph. *l.* 4.

ten) and then giving a turn on their right hand, as it is in [k] *Plautus*:

[k] *In Curcul.*

Quò me vortam, neſcio. Si Deos ſalutas, dextro vorſum, cenſeo.

The ſafeſt place for a Petitioner to Men too, as well as to the Gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire, whither they preſently ran, when they came to any ſtrange place in travel, or exilement, as to the onely Altar of the houſe, and the Gods thereof. For according to that of *Cicero* in his *oration for his houſe*, *Nihil ſanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quàm domus uniuſcujuſque civium. Hic aræ ſunt, hic foci, hic dii penates, hic ſacræ religionis ceremoniæ continentur: hoc perfugium eſt ita ſanctum omnibus, ut inde arripi neminem fas ſit.* When they had once ſeated themſelves there in the aſhes, in as mournfull a poſture as might be, they need not *open their mouths* for pity; neither was it the cuſtome ſo to doe: For thoſe *actions* ſpeak loud enough, and an *eye* would ſerve for hearing.

Τῷ δ' ἄνεω, χ) ἀναυδοι ἐφ' ἑσίη αἰζασεσ
Ἵζανον, &c.

[l] *L. 4. Argon.*
[m] *Odyſſ. 7.*
Thucydid.

This was the [m] practice of *Ulyſſes* at the houſe of *Alcinous*, and of *Themiſtocles* at the houſe of *Admetus*; but ſo as firſt, by the inſtruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little Son along with him for his guard, πάντω μεγίστω χ) μόνω χρὴν ἀναιδέϛατον ἱκεσίαν ἐφ' Μολοσσῶν, *the onely way in uſe among the people to obtain a requeſt.*

If they fled to the Gods for refuge or for help, their faſhion was firſt to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray that their deſires might be crowned with ſucceſs;

[n] *Eurip. in Alceſt.*

[n] Πάντας ὦ βωμὸς, οἱ καθ' Ἁδμήτου δόμους
Πεσὼν λιτ, κἀξάρξε, χ) προσπύξαϛο
Πτέρυγων ἀποῤῥύσσα μυρσινῶν φόβῳ.

Their uſual geſture in praying, was to hold up their *arms* right toward Heaven, as [o] *Helen* ſays,

[o] *Eurip. Helen. v. 1100.*

——ὀρθὰς ὠλένας πρὸς ἔραν
Τιτθοῖν'——

But to wreſt their *hands* as far as they could upon their wreſts. Aceording to that of *Æſchylus*, where he ſays of *Prometheus*, that though the Gods had tyed him faſt to the hill,

hill, his ſtomach was ſo great, that he ſaid he ſcorned to ſubmit or pray *manibus ſupinis*, with *bended hands* like Women and Children:

Γυναικονόμοις ἐπιλιάσιμοι χερῶν.

Now ſometimes if they obtained their requeſt, and it were a matter of conſequence, you ſhould have them relate it to the Prieſt of the Temple to be regiſtred; or write it down in a Table, and leave it behind them, to ſhew for a teſtimony.

CAP. III.

De generibus, & locis Sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have obſerved in reading, concerning their manner of ſerving their Gods. Their divine ſervices in reſpect of the cauſe or occaſion, were,

Firſt, Εὐκλεῖα χαριστήρια, *vota, free-will offerings*, ſervices promiſed and paid for a Victory, or the like,

—— [a] *Cenæo ſacra parabat* [a] Ovid. *Met. l.* 9.
Vota Jovi ——

Secondly, Τὰ ἐπὶ μαντείαις, *ſuch as were impoſed*, and *commanded* by an *Oracle*.

—— [b] Εὐκλεῶς φαῖεν ἢ ἐπὶ μαντείας τινός. [b] Sophoc. *on Trach.*

In reſpect of the object (that is to which of the Gods they were formed) they were done either 1. Ὑποχθονίοις, *to the Gods under ground*, and that ἐπὶ ἐσχάρᾳ in a ditch digged, or plowed up for that purpoſe. The Latins called it *Ara*, ſuch as they uſed when they ſacrificed to the *Heroes*, (for whom they had alſo Ἡρῶα, Temples and Plays, and what not) together with the [c] Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to ſet it forth. 2. Τοῖς χθονίοις, *to the Gods upon ground*, much in the ſame manner. And, 3. Τοῖς ὑπερτίοις, *to the Gods above ground*, ἐπὶ βωμῷ, upon an Altar raiſed up high from the ground, which the *Latins* therefore called *Altare*, and the *Greeks* [d] ἔρκος ἱερὸν, and * χάλας ἔρκος, as if it were a *work*, *vallum*, [c] *Schol. in Ariſt. in Avib.* [d] Soph. *in Trach.* * Eurip. *in Heracl.*

or *agger*, made up of earth caſt up together. The diſtinction betwixt βωμὸς and ἐσχάρα, is ſet down by the Scholiaſt on [f] *Euripides* thus. Βωμὸς *is an Altar built up high with an aſcent of ſeveral ſteps:* ἐσχάρα *is as it were one ſtep it ſelf, after the faſhion of ſome hearths in the figure of a quadrangle.* (Juſt as they made their λάκκοι [g] wherein they poured ſome Oil and Wine and tempered it with the duſt, to make Cakes for the Devil.) The occaſion given them to make this diſtinction, was the word βώμιοι ἐσχάραι in the Authour: whereupon he notes that ἐσχάρα was there uſed in a large ſenſe, for the *hole*, τὸ κοίλωμα or the *concavity* in the top of the βωμὸς for the fire. At the making of a βωμὸς (and ſo at the making of a ſtatue to be worſhipped) they had a cuſtome ὁσπείων ἐνδυμάτων χύτρας περιπομπεύειν, for women in garments of ſeveral colours, to carry about pots of ſeveral ſorts of boyled pulſe, and offer thereof to the [h] Gods.

——τὰς χύτρας αἷς ἥ θεὸν
Ἱλάσκεσθε, λαβοῦσ' ὀπὴ τὴ κεφαλῆς φέρε.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and ſo it may be called χῶμα or *tumulus*, as it uſes to be ſometimes of aſhes; ſometimes of earth and bloud tempered together; ſometimes of ſtone, and ſometimes of wood. For the figure, it was ſometimes long, and ſometimes ſquare; but moſt often [i] κυκλοτερὴς round: as the Theatre, the Market-places, and their Tables uſed to be. The places where they made their Altars, were uſually *Mountains* and *high-places* (ſo often objected to the heatheniſh Iſraelites) for according to the Scholiaſt upon theſe words of [k] *Sophocles*, Τὸν Οἰτης Ζηνὸς ὕψιστον πάγον, &c. πᾶν ὄρος τὸ Διὸς ὀνομάζεσθαι ὑψηλὸν ὄντα· τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὑψηλῷ δεῖ τὰς θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν, *Every Mountain was called by Jupiter's name, or conſecrated to Jupiter, becauſe the God being in a high place, it was fit to ſacrifice to him in a high place,* to be heard the better; as it was to the terreſtrial Gods in a low, to come nearer to them. Beſides, the Altar in ſuch a place, was the leſs in danger to be got up upon, and prophaned, as being kept (as the ſame Scholiaſt ſays) ἀδέβηλον καὶ ἄβατον.

[f] *In Phœniſſ.*

[g] *Schol. in* Ariſtoph. *Eccleſ.*

[h] *Schol. in* Ariſtoph. *in Pluto.*

[i] *Odyſſ.*

[k] *In Trach.*

Thirdly,

Thirdly, In reſpect of time, ſome do ſay that they ſacrificed to the *Heroe's*, [l] ἐν δυσμαῖσιν αὐγαῖς, *in the evening*, and to others in the morning.

[l] Pindar. *Iſth.*

Laſtly, In reſpect of the matter or the thing ſacrificed, it was either τῶν ζώων, *of living creatures*, properly called [m] θυσία, or elſe of things *without* life; and thoſe either ξηρῶν, *dry*, as Corn and Flower, or τῶν ὑγρῶν, *wet*, as Wine, or Milk, or Honey uſually called by the name of χοὴ. The firſt *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnatural to kill any thing; and ſo was all for his ἀγνὰ θύματα, wherein there was no bloud, or ἄναιμοι θυσίαι, (as *Tucydides* calls them) where there was no ſmoke, or [n] νηφάλιοι θυσία, where there was no Wine. But every one elſe almoſt lik't it too well, and no ſuch glorious a buſineſs as an ὁλόκλητος θυσία, *a whole burnt ſacrifice*. Sometimes greater than a *Suovetauralia*, and conſiſting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ram, and a Goat: and ſometimes but a τριττύς, of a Sow, a Ram and Goat. I hardly believe they ever went ſo high as an hundred notwithſtanding —— πελέκεας ἑκατόμβας. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the *Prytanes*, or Commiſſaries, unleſs they were robbed of their due: as it ſeems they were ſometimes, by him in the Poet, threatning to complain of one that did ſo,

[m] *Schol. in* Eurip.

[n] Suidas.

[o] Καὶ σὲ φανῶ τοῖς πρυτάνεσι
Ἀφελόμενος ἣν θεῶν ἱερὰς ἑκατὸν χιλίας.

[o] Ariſt. *in Equit.*

CAP. IV.

De generibus & formulis Jurandi.

"Ορκος, an *Oath*, (the Son [a] of *Eris*, and yet the *end* [b] *of all contention*) was of two ſorts, *viz.* ὁ μέγας, and ὁ μικρὸς, *the greater and the leſs*. The greater Oath was either of Men by the Gods, or the Gods themſelves, by the *Stygian Lake*:

[a] Heſiod.

[b] *Ep. ad Heb.* 6. 16.

[c] Αὐτῷ γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον.

[c] *Idem. in Theogon.*

Which

Which is the cauſe why ſome fetch the word ὅρκος, *an Oath*, from *Orcus*, *Hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and preſcribed by him to the reſt of the Gods, when he had the aſſiſtence of *Styx*, and his Sons againſt the *Titans*; or when he drank of the water, to quench his thirſt in the fight. *Servius* ſays (out of *Orpheus*) that if any God had ſworn falſe, or broken his Oath when he ſwore by *Styx*, he was to be puniſhed for it in Hell nine thouſand years. Which order, even *Jupiter* himſelf ſubmitted to, and therefore took the more care how he ſware, as *Minutius* ſays, *Deſtinatam enim ſibi cum ſuis cultoribus pœnam præſcius perhorreſcit.* He that ſwore either of theſe ways was properly ſaid to ὀμνύειν, and to yield himſelf up to the mercy of thoſe that were able to puniſh him, if he called them to witneſs that which was contrary to his *knowledge* or his *meaning*. So that ſometimes it was the cuſtome to add an imprecation of ſome evil, wherewith he knew them able to puniſh him, if they ſwore falſe: As *Telemachus* does in *Homer*,

Οὐ μὰ Ζῆν' Ἀγάλαε, καὶ ἄλγεα πάλεος ἐμοῖο.

By Jove, and the ſorrows of my Father.

The *Womens* Oath was commonly by *Juno*, and *by my Lady Diana*, as [d] *Clytemneſtra* uſes in *Euripides*, μὰ τὴν Δίκαιναν Ἄρτεμιν, much like the ſuperſtitious Oath of *By my Lady*, among ſome of us. The Gods, by whom the Men were to ſwear by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Jupiter* Ὅρκιος with three names) *viz.* Ἱκέσιος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἐξακεσίμβροτος. For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Cuſtos Juramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it do not appear, (as ſome ſay it does) in the word *jusjurandum*, *quaſi Jovis jurandum*, it will ſufficiently be proved by the plain teſtimony of the Poet, that ſays,

[d] *In Elect.*

[e] Eurip. *Med.* v. 170.

—— [e] Ζῆνα δ' ὃς ὅρκων
Θνατοῖς τιμίας νενόμικεν.

But ſo far were they from being contented to ſwear by none but *Jupiter*, that not onely any *other* of the *Gods*, but any of their own *Men* lately dead, and thought to be deified, did ſerve the turn: as when *Demoſthenes* ſwore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, *thoſe that valiantly died in the battel of Marathon.*

Some-

Sometimes for over much haſte or confidence, or ſome ſuch reaſon, they left it to the party, to whom they ſwore, to chuſe any of the Gods, whomſoever he pleaſed to be tryed by: in this manner, ὄμνυμι σὲ πρὸς θεῶν, as we ſay, *I'll lay you what you will.* This form you may find uſed in *Plato in Phædro*, and *Ariſtenetus* in his Epiſtle of [f] *Euxitheus* to *Pytheas*. Sometimes they ſwore by many Gods together in the plural number, without ſpecifying whom they meant. And ſometimes by all their *twelve Gods*, (as the *Lacedemonians* did by *their two* τὼ Διοσκόρω, *Caſtor* and *Pollux:*)

[f] *L. 2. Ep. 2.*

[g] Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς,

By the whole Jury of the Gods.

[g] Ariſtoph. *Equeſt.*

(neither honeſt nor true; onely they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher houſe, and *Deos conſentes*, and ſo they put them together. (Other times again, they ſwore by this or that God in particular, to whom either the affairs they handled, or the place wherein they were, eſpecially belonged: expreſſing his name. For ſo in the Market in buying and ſelling, or the like buſineſs, they commonly ſwore this Oath, Νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν Ἀγοραῖον, *by Mercury.* But then you ſhould have ſome that out of mere *deiſidæmony*, would ſay no more than μὰ τόν, *By, &c.* εὐλαβείας χάριν ἐπιδυπμιζόμενοι, with a [h] religious *apoſiopeſis*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the *Oath by an Oath it ſelf*, [i] μὰ τὸν ὄρκον, νὴ or μὰ with ναὶ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative Oath, and μὰ for a negative.

[h] Ariſtoph. *in Ran.*

[i] Pind. *Nem.*

CAP. V.

De ritibus in Juramento Magno.

THE Cuſtomes in taking a *Great* Oath, if it were in a publick manner, and by way of vindication of the truth were theſe. The Gods uſed to lift up their hands, as *Apollo* in the Poet bids *Lacheſis* χεῖρας ἀναλῦναι. Little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in ſeveral places. Men when they ſwore a great Oath, laid

laid down their hands upon the Altar, as we do upon the New Teſtament: whereas in a leſs, or in a private Oath, made to ſuch or ſuch a Man, by way of a bargain or a promiſe, according to the Roman faſhion, they laid their hand upon the hand of the party to whom they ſwore. This Ceremony, I remember, *Menelaus* in [a] *Euripides* demanded of *Helena* beſides the words of her Oath,

[a] Helen. v. 834.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι τοῖς ἐμοῖς, δεξιᾶς ἐμῆς δίγα.

Secondly. To honour the Gods by whom they ſwore, they ſacrificed the life of *one* of thoſe three Beaſts, [b] Κάπρος, Κριὸς and Τράγος, *a Boar, a Ram and a Goat:* or all *three*, of every ſort one, or three of one of the ſorts; as *Adraſtus* was made to doe of three Sheep, in behalf of the *Argivi*,

[b] Ariſtoph. *in* Lyſiſt.

[c] Eurip. *Sup.* v. 1200.

— [c] λαμπὰς τρεῖς κριῶν μήλων ταμών·

which they called μυλοσφαγεῖν. Sometimes when they killed a Boar, they cut out the ſtones (ὄρχις and ὄρχεις are pretty near kin) and ſtood upon them as they ſwore. A Ram or a Boar thus uſed is properly called Τομίας. Perhaps, they uſed to ſacrifice Pigs chiefly (as the Romans did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. And good reaſon choice ſhould be made of that Beaſt, rather than any other in ſwearing too, ſince there was ſo great account made of it in other buſineſſes as ſolemn as that. For firſt *Jupiter* was nurſed by a Sow (ſay ſome) and concealed by the noiſe of the grunting: and therefore with the *Grecians* his Countrey men, there might be no initiation without it. Secondly, *Varro* [d] ſaith, *Pecoris immolandi initium ſumptum à ſuillo, That it was the firſt beaſt that was ſacrificed*, which made ſome think that ὗς was ſo called, *quaſi* θύς, and *Sus quaſi Thus*. Nay, it was a Creature ſo greatly *ſacred*, (or employed to a *ſacred uſe*,) that *Sacres* by it ſelf, is uſed for little Pigs conſecrated for a Sacrifice. The fleſh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in theſe was not to be eaten at all, except it were by the Worms and the Fiſh. For either they buried it in the [f] ground, or elſe threw it into the Sea: as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was ſacrificed at an Oath of *Agamemnon*'s.

[d] *De Re Ruſt.*

* Ariſt. *in Luſiſt.*

[f] Euſtat. *in Il.* γ'.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Juramento parvo & ejus ritibus.

Μικρὸς ὅρκος, or *the little Oath*, was when they ſwore by a Creature (and their *Gods* were hardly ſo much, ſuch as *per Cramben*, or by a Gooſe or a Dog κύων or χήν, as the Socraticks did, having that practice commended to them by their own Maſter: who (as it is in the Scholies upon [a] *Ariſtophanes*) in his twelfth Book Περὶ Κρητῶν, had told them that *Radamanthus*, the juſteſt man that ever lived, had expreſly forbid them to ſwear by the Gods; but inſtead thereof had allowed them the uſe of a Dog or a Gooſe, or a Ram, or ſuch like Creatures. Sometimes they ſwore by the ground they ſtood upon, as [b] *Hyppolytus* does, in *Euripides*, [a] *In Avib.* [b] *V.* 1025.

——ᾧ πέδον χθονὸς ὄμνυμι.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made uſe of. If the matter were ſerious, you might hear them ſwearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Virgil*,

Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante ſolebat.

Which was the reaſon (ſays [c] *Athenæus*) firſt, Why they accounted the head ἱερόν τι, *holy and ſacred*. Secondly, Why they did προσκυνεῖν τοῦ πτάρνυσθαι, *bow the knee at a Sneeze*. Thirdly, Why the old Philoſophers made ſuch a ſcruple to eat of the head of any kind of Creature. And, fourthly, Why they uſed this Oath but ſeldom, accounting it ἀγρὸν ὅρκον, as *Helena* called it when ſhe ſwore to *Menelaus*, though it were by *his* head, and not her own. Ἀλλ' ἀγρὸν ὅρκον σὸν κάρα κατώμοσα. [c] *L.* 2.

The Cuſtoms uſed both in the Little and Great Oaths too, in abjuring and purging of crimes, were ſometimes creeping upon their hands thorough the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron, (μυδρον they called it, ſuch a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Scholar *Euripides* [d] took the Sun to be) ſuppoſing (as the Scholiaſt ſays upon *Sophocles*) τοῦ [d] *Schol.* Eurip. *in Hel.*

μὴ ἀνόχως τῷ ἁμαρτήματι ἐν τούτοις μὴ ἀλγεῖν, *That if they were not guilty of the crime, they ſhould not be ſenſible of the pain.* Thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken this Oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like cuſtome, we reade to have been in uſe among the Saxon Anceſtours, and for the ſame purpoſe, under the name of *Fire Ordeal.* For *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confeſſour, paſſing blindfolded in the ſpaces between a great many red-hot Plow-ſhares laid on the ground: and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond holding a red hot Iron in her hand, receiving no hurt thereby, cleared themſelves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they took the Iron and threw it into the Sea, ſolemnly vowing to keep the *Oath* without *breaking*, as long as the Sea ſhould the Iron without *ſwimming*,

* Callimach. —— * μέχρις ὁ μὲν μέγας εἰν ἅλι μύδρος.

Sometimes (as I have known Boys doe among us) they wrote the Oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it ſwam, and the water could endure it, he ſwore true, but if it ſunk, and the water would not ſuffer it to be ſeen, he was to be puniſhed immediately without more adoe. And this puts me in mind of the League with the *Athenians*, which the Poet ſays, they would have written in the hollow of a *Tripus*, and the *Tripus* to be ſent to *Delphos* to *Apollo*, to be there kept for a teſtimony, and a memorial,

Μνημεῖα δ' ὅρκων μαρτυρήματα Ἑλλάδι.

to be produced when occaſion ſhould require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his eighth Book *de Clitophontis & Leucippes amoribus*) ſpeaks of a cuſtome, if a Wench were accuſed of Whoredom; to have her make a formal Oath of denial, and having written the Oath in a Table, to ſtand in water up to the ſhins, with the Table about her neck. If ſhe were chaſte and had ſworn true, the water remained as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (ſays he) *the very water grows angry at it, and never leaves ſwelling, till it go up as high as her neck, and cover the table; leſt ſo horrid a ſight as a falſe Oath, ſhould look the Sun and the World in the face.*

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De perjurii Religione.

IF a man made a conſcience of ſwearing aright, he was counted religious indeed, inſomuch that εὐορκῶν, was commonly uſed for εὐσεβῆς,

Οὐδέ τις εὐόρκως χάρις ἔστ' ἄρα, ἤτοι δικαίῳ.

in *Heſiod*, and

——εἴ τι χαίρεις εὐόρκως τρόποις.

in [a] *Ariſtophanes*. Whereas on the other ſide, when they expreſſed a very wicked man, they made uſe of the word ἐπιόρκων, *perjurious*. And therefore *Ariſtophanes (in Nubibus)* ſpeaking of *Jupiter*'s Lightnings and Thunderbolts, which ſome ſaid, that they did more hurt to the *wicked* than to others, ſays he, εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, *if perjured men are onely liable to be ſtruck, how comes it to paſs that Cleonymus and Theodorus eſcape ſo well? or that the poor Oak tree is ſo often hurt* ἐξ ὧν δρῦς ἐπίορκος, *ſince it can never be perjur'd?* Such as were common and cuſtomary ſwearers, for ill making, as well as ill keeping of Oaths, were branded with the name of Ἀφυῆται from Ἀφυτός (ſaith *Heſychius*) the place where the Oaths uſed to be adminiſtred. Now for the puniſhment of ſuch vile perſons, they ſuppoſed the furies every fifth day to have a viſitation, and to walk the round, for that purpoſe: according to that of [b] *Heſiod*,

[a] *In* Plut.

[b] *In Dieb.*

Ἐν πέμπτῃ γάρ φασιν ἐείννυας ἀμφιπολεύειν
Ὅρκον πινυμόας——

and therefore *Agamemnon*, when he ſwore that he never had to doe with *Briſeis*, called the Furies to witneſs too, as well as the *Earth* and the *Sun*:

——Ἐρινύας αἳ δ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθαι, ὅστις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.

Nay, in ſome places, the inſenſible Creatures ſeemed to be ſenſible of the ſin, and ſave the Furies a labour. For I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City in *Cicily*, there were certain *crateres* or *fonts*, out of which there roſe ſometimes

flames, and ſometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people uſed to reſort from other places, for deciding of Controverſies by taking an Oath. For if any one ſwore falſe near theſe fonts, he was preſently ſtrucken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Beſides theſe, there were other means of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the Image of *Jupiter*, Ὅρκιος, [c] Pauſan. *in Eli.* [c] πάντων ὁπόσα ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἐς ἔκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the moſt dreadfull manner of any, *viz.* with Thunder-bolts in his hands, and a plate of Braſs at his feet, on which were engraven certain Elegiacal Verſes, compoſed of purpoſe to terrifie ſuch as durſt invocate that God in falſhood. All this moved the *Lacedemonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet ſaid of them,

Οἷσιν ὅτι βωμοὶ, ὅτι πίστις, ὅρκος μέτει.

Which you will ſay is very likely, if you remember the ſaying of *Lyſander*, one of their own Generals, ἀστραγάλοις, παῖδας καὶ ἐπιορκίαις, πολεμίους δὲ ὅρκοις, *fallere oportet pueros aſtragalis, hoſtes autem juramentis.*

SECT. II.

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. I.

De Leſchis, & de tempore victus capiendi.

WHatever they talk of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an *Athenian* were charitable, *and ſo he died*) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poor, and among his companions as *merry as a Greek*. Of the goodneſs of the *Athenian* natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant teſtimo-

teſtimonies, whereby I ſhall make it appear, how tender-hearted they were, not onely to Men in *philanthropy*, but even to brute Beaſts. For the firſt you may hear it from *Demoſthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not ſo ſafe for ſuch expreſſions) they brought going on the way, and carried every one ſomething under his arme, to furniſh him for his journey, inſomuch that at parting he cried out, Πῶς φέρειν δυνήσομαι τοιαύτην ἀπολιμπάνων πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ τοιοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐχθροὶ, οἵους οὐκ ἄν τις ἀλλαχόθι φίλους εὕροι; *How ſhall I endure to leave ſuch a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where elſe?* For the laſt you ſhall have two pretty inſtances, as I had them from the ſame Authour. The firſt is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expell'd the houſe for [a] killing a Sparrow, which being purſued by another Bird fled into his boſome for ſhelter: Ὡς οὐκ ὄσια δεδρακὼς (ſays he) *as if he had not done righteous things*, ἐκ εἰς φιλότητα χάριν τοῦ ἰταμοῦ τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς, ἀλλ' εἰς μῖσος τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων, *not ſo much out of love to the Sparrow, as hatred to his conditions.* The laſt is of one *Praxitiles*, whom for skinning of a Ram alive, they puniſhed much after the ſame manner, as the Ram was, ἀπολιμπάνειν. The goodneſs of his nature among his companions, appeared either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and diſcourſe. For there is εὐωχία ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ſays *Theophraſtus*, *good cheer* in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Ariſtophanes* calls it ῥαγεῖν τι ῥήματα, *eating of words*; *Plautus*, *comedere ſermones*. And it may be they might be made ſometimes to eat their words indeed, if they parted with ſo much as by all mens report they did. For they were ſo λογοποιοὶ (as the [b] Character terms them) ſo employed ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τοὺς λόγους, *in diſſeminandis & ſpargendis rumoribus*; and were ſo much given to ſpend their time in nothing elſe, but either *to hear or tell ſome new thing*, [c] that I wonder with what face, they could call S. *Paul* Σπερμολόγον. Though I know ſome do rather chuſe to fetch the word from λέγειν, *to gather*, as the Scholiaſt in *Ariſtophanes* interprets τοὺς Σπερμολόγους to be τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας καὶ τὰ ἐκ φορείων διαπίπτοντα ἀναλεγομένους, *ſuch as watch for looſe things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up.* The places where

[a] Phoc. *ad* 1591.

[b] Theophr.

[c] Act. 17. 21.

where they met and diſcourſed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better ſort: or Tradeſmens Shops for the meaner, like the Roman *Tabernæ*;

Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos.

Their meetings in this kind, but eſpecially thoſe in the ſhops and places themſelves, and the conſabulations therein, they called λέσχας, μακρὰς λέσχας, ſaith *Euripides*. And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durſt call the convention indicted by the King, by the name of λέσχη too. Now thoſe ſhops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the Proverb, Κυριακὴ λαλιὰ uſed by *Polybius*, 1. e. *Barbers talk*, (as we ſay) *Lye like a Tooth-drawer*. But eſpecially Smiths, and ſuch as made uſe of Fire; being free for any that would warm themſelves, and without any doors, as the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words in *Heſiod. l.* 2. Concerning χαλκεῖον θῶκον, &c. Τὸ παλαιὸν (ſaith he) τὰ χαλκεῖα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργαστήρια τὰ πῦρ ἔχοντα ἄθυρα ἦν, ἃ καὶ λέσχας ἐκάλουν. And to this belongs that of *Homer*,

[a] *Il.* γ'. & σ'. [d] Οὐδὲ θάλεις εὔδειν χαλκήϊον εἰς δόμον ἐλθὼν
Ἠπὺ εἰς λέσχην.

The diſcourſe was for the moſt part *de Lana Caprina* (as they called it) or *de Gerris Siculis*, childiſh and idle, well befitting ſuch *Geruli figuli*, as moſt of them were. But the Philoſophers that met in the λέσχαι, which *Hierocles* ſpeaks of, had better diſcourſe. Theſe places were conſecrated to the honour of *Apollo*, who is therefore ſaid to have the name of Λεσχηνόριος (ſo ſaith *Suidas*; but it ſhould be rather Λεσχηνάριος, ſays *Meurſius*) the reaſon was, becauſe ſuch meetings were, or ſhould be in the day time: and ſometimes in the *Sun*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a ſet Meal amongſt *themſelves*, was anciently but once a day, at Supper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* in ſeveral places) it is not eaſie to determine. Some ſay there were four Meals a-day, *viz.* 1. Ἀκράτισμα or Διανηστιζμὸς, the *Breakfaſt*. 2. Ἄριστον, the *Dinner*. 3. Δεῖπνον, the *Beaver*. 4. Δόρπον, the *Supper*. Juſt ſo many *Athenæus*

næus has, but in this order, *viz.* 1. Ἀκροθίνιον. 2. Δεῖπνον. 3. Ἑσπέρισμα, or *(Veſperna)* 4. Δόρπον. Others make but theſe three. 1. Ἄριστον. 2. Δεῖπνον. 3. Δόρπον. You ſee that Δόρπον is the laſt Meal ſtill, and ſo it is in * *Ariſtophanes*, who after Δοράπετος, *Supper-time*, makes it to be preſently *Bed-time*. To any of theſe Meals if they came too late they called it παραδειπνεῖσθαι, or παραδωνεῖν. Which they need not fear, if they had a Bell to call them, as [f] *Plutarch* ſays they had in the Fiſh-market, and therefore terms thoſe, whoſe bellies had no ears, but for the *Bell*, καδωνῷ ὀξέως ἀκούοντες.

* *In Veſp.*

[f] *Sympoſ. c.* 4.

CAP. II.

De ritibus & variis modis Convivandi.

THeir merriment with *others*, was when they kept a Feaſt. And thus to ſpend their money was eſpecially called ἀναλίσκειν, and δαπανᾶν: the merriment it ſelf, by the name of [a] ἥβη. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* miniſtring to the Gods at a Feaſt; and from whence ἕβηδον came to be uſed for a little cup to drink healths out of. Now a Feaſt was of three [b] kinds, 1. Ἔρανος, 2. Γάμος, 3. Εἰλαπίνη. Ἔρανος, otherwiſe called [c] συμβολὴ ἀπὸ κοινῆς συμβολῆς, ἦγον καὶ καλαβολᾶς καὶ δαπάνης πολλῶν πινῶν, was when they joyned or clubbed for it, and every one brought his *Symbolum*, his *part*, or elſe laid in his *Symbolum*, his *pawn*, or his *earneſt* with the Maſter of the Feaſt. The earneſt was commonly a Ring, as *Terence* ſays, *Dati annuli, locus, tempus conſtitutum.* And ſometimes any other thing: Which he that laid out the money for the Feaſt, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to ſell or doe what he would with it. The reaſon why it was not ſo coſtly, and thoſe that were at it did eat ſo ſparingly, ὡς ἂν ἴδιον ἐσθίοντες [d] ἕκαστος, was becauſe every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called Αὐτόδικοι, * *Sodales:* Sometimes they call ſuch a feaſting καλάβολον, from *joyning*, as we ſay, or *clubbing*, or *caſting* every one his *lot* into one

[a] *Schol. in* Ariſtoph. *Veſp.*

[b] Euſtathius *in* Hom.

[c] Ariſtoph. *& Schol.*

[d] Σχε. *ibid.*

* Feſtus.

one purſe, κοινὸν κοῖλον, ὅτι πάντων κοινῶς διδόντες δαπάνην συμποσίζωσι, ſays *Tzetzes* upon [f] *Heſiod.* And ſo likewiſe ſometimes ἀπὸ σποράδην δεῖπνον, from σπείρειν, becauſe the charges came *ſcattered*, or *ſown* by ſeveral hands, which is reſembled very well by the *Sportula* inſtituted by *Nero.* Laſtly, [g] ὁ θίασος (they ſay) has been uſed for the ſame, [g] θιασῶται for the company.

[f] *L.* 2.

[g] Athen. *l.* 8.

Of this way of Feaſting you have a brief and large commendation in *Heſiod,*

Μηδὲ πολυξείνης δαιτὸς δυσπέμφελος ἦῖ,
Ἐκ κοινῆς πλείκης ἣ χάρις, ἣ πλείων τ' ὀλίγῃσι.
Be not averſe from common Feaſts; for there,
The charge the leaſt is, and the moſt the cheer.

Sometimes you ſhould have a covetous fellow make his γάμον his very *Wedding-dinner*, in the manner of an ἔρανος: and every one that comes muſt bring his part with him, and be ἰκρίσιος (as [h] *Plutarch* calls the Souldier *that goes a warfare at his own coſt.*) This kind of feaſting (I think) may very well be named παντόδαπα, for [i] *that* is either when there is meat of *all ſorts*, or when it is brought to *every man*, or when they ſit *higly pigly*, and every one takes where he likes. Εἰλαπίνη (for of γάμος we have ſpoken already) uſed to be a little more coſtly πολυτελής. It was thus called either, 1. From λάπτειν, the *lapping and tippling* in it; or, 2. From their gathering together, or ſitting in *companies*; ὅτι κατ' εἴλας, ἢ ὁμοῦ εἱλισσόμενοι ἔπινον, or, 3. From εἴλαι, the *vertigines* or *rounds* uſed in Dances [k] εὐφρόνης εἴλαι. The company at ſuch a Feaſt were called Εἰλαπινασταί. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poor Women were left by themſelves alone in the γυναικωνίτης, unleſs it were to accompany ſome of their very near Friends: according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his Book: *Nam neque in convivium adhibetur niſi propinquorum, neque ſedet niſi in interiore parte ædium, quæ Gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, niſi propinquâ cognatione conjunctus.* The uſual cuſtomes in feaſting were theſe. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certain Officers appointed for the purpoſe to diſcommon them. And to them

[h] *In* Craſs.

[i] *Schol. in* Ariſtoph. *Pace.*

[k] Pindar.

them the Cooks were to repair, to be examined concerning the ſame. Beſides thoſe Officers, there was an Οἰνόπτης too, to ſee how oft, and how much every one drank. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἄσωτος or intemperate, he was to be puniſhed by the *Areopagus*. Which perhaps gave occaſion to the drunken unthrifts of thoſe times to call the Greeks μικρολεπτίζους and φυλλιξοῦγας, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed ſuch bite-figgs, and cummin-cutters, as they make them, how came it to paſs that *Cookery* was ſo much in requeſt among them; (σεμνὸν γὰρ ἡ μαγειρικὴ, it is an honourable profeſſion, ſays [1] *Athenæus*) or that the skill in Phyſick, Aſtronomy and Geometry, was thought ſo requiſite to that Art: or that in ancient time, the Cook ſhould be one of the chief Officers at a Sacrifice, as they ſay he was? the laſt indeed, was very convenient, ſince a Sacrifice and a Feaſt ſo well agreed that commonly either the latter followed the former, or inſtead of invitations they ſent their friends a piece of the Victime,

[1] L. 4.

——καὶ τὸ ἦ θύσας
Ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μόρσιμον καλὸν κρέας αὐτίκα πέμψον.
——*as ſoon as you*
To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to Morſon *too.*

CAP. III.

De more ſalutandi, Sympoſiarcho, Coronis, Unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de Menſis.

WHen the Gueſts were come, the manner of ſalutation for little Boys (if any came) was to take them by the ears, as one would take a *pot*, and kiſs them, and ſuch a kiſs as this they called [2] χύτρα, *a pot*. The faſhion of kiſſing the lips was but of latter days, and *oſculum* may be *oſculum* upon any thing ſo it be from the *mouth*. Anciently they uſed to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and ſometimes upon the head, or the ſhoulder, or the neck, like the

[2] Pollux. *l.* 9. c. 24.

Jews. Sometimes they went no higher than the hand, with an embracing of the Body, as *Xuthus* desired to doe to *Ion*,

[b] Eur. *Ion.* v. 518. [b] Δὸς χερὸς φίλημά μοι σῆς, σώματός τ' ἀμφὶ πτύχας.

Embracing was the most usual salutation. Insomuch that (if you will believe the [c] Scholy) the word ἀσπάσασθαι, used to signifie to *salute*, does properly signifie to *embrace*, as being derived (says he) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγαν ασπάζεσθαι εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὸν ἕτερον. The compellation to such as they respected was usually Τίμιε, *Vir honeste, worthy Sir*, rather than Κύριε, *Domine*, or *Master*:

[c] *On* Aristoph. *Plut.*

[d] Eurip. *in suppl.* —— [d] ὃς εὐτυχήσει, τίμιος χεραίζεται.

Till the Meat came up, the Guests spent their time, in observing and commending the conveniences of the House, and the Houshold-stuff, and the like, according to *his* instructions in * *Aristophanes*,

* *Vesp.* Ἔπειτ' ἐπαίνεσόν τι τὴν χαλκωμάτων
Ὄροφὴν θέασαι ——

The Δεσποτολίπορ, the Master of the House, shall I say, or the Master of the Feast? or rather the *Founder* of the Feast; (for Συμποσίαρχος the Master, was many times no more than a Master-steward, or [f] Συμποσίου ὀψωνητὴς, the Caterer chosen by a company at a Collation) presently had his χαμαιτύπιδιον brought him in by the Cook, *i. e.* a *note* containing the several sort of Dishes which they were to expect. Now in some Feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Modiperator*, and the fashion yet in use in *Italy*, and among us on *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who should be Βασιλεὺς, *King*, and he to whose lot it fell, was to have the whole command of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without any restraint. Which sometimes prov'd too *tyrannical*, as it did in him in [g] *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖσθαι τὸ κυμβαλῆς, *to take the drink in his mouth, or have it flung in his face.*

[f] Pollux. *l.* 2. *c.* 1.

[g] *c.* 8.

All this while that the Feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankincense and Myrrhe upon the hearth. Either that the sense of smelling too, might have a *taste* of the mirth, (εὐωδίαν ἑστᾶν, for [h] *Smell-feast*) or else to stop the mouths, and the *angry noses* of the Gods, to whom, before they ate

* Athenæus. any

any thing themſelves, they uſed to offer a taſte of the beſt of every Diſh. But how they did it I know not, unleſs they threw it in the fire, as *Patroclus* did,

——ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε δυπλάς.

The Gueſts before they ſate down, uſed to crown their heads with Garlands, made for the moſt part of Myrtle, and ſo I remember the bold Gueſt in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drink, ——στέφει δ' κρᾶτα μυρσίνοις κλάδοις, *bound* his [i] head with *Mirtle-boughs* to *ſecure* it from aking, and the Romans it ſeems agree with them herein, for ſays *Horace* when he went to be too merry,

Nunc decet aut viridi Caput impedire Myrto.

The uſe of theſe Garlands was to cool the head, and ſo reſtrain the heat of the Wine. Neither did they *crown* their heads onely, but *anoint* them too, as if they had been going to *wreſtle* with the ſtrength of the liquor: for ſo ſays he *in Veſpis*,

——γυμνασιτικῶς
Ὑγρὸν χρίλωσον σκωλόν.

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too, it ſeems,

——*habent unctæ mollia ſerta comæ.*

Uſing it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether, or to open the pores, and let them out as ſoon as they came. For the ſame end was it, that the herb *Crambe* was ſo much uſed in their Feaſts, as it was alſo among the *Ægyptians*; and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy ſaid to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, ſo great, that it will not endure to grow near it: which antipathy (ſay they) has been in it, ever ſince [k] *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting down all the Vines in his Kingdom to prevent drunkenneſs, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twigs, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a tear upon the ground, out of which tear preſently ſprung the *Crambe*, ſo called *quaſi* Κορέμβλη, from Κόρη, or *Pupillæ* the *Apples*, or the *Babies* (as we ſay) in the eyes, to which it is thought to be hurtfull.

[i] Καλαψύχουσι τὸ κεφάλιον, *ſays the Scholiaſt upon* Ariſtophanes *in Av.*

[k] *Sch. on* Ariſtoph. *in Equit. Act.* 1. *Sc.* 3.

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Ὡραῖον ὄντως ——

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[k] *Sch. on* Ariſtoph. *in Equit. Act.* 1. *Sc.* 3.

Beſides anointing, there was waſhing too, both before and after meat; *that* before, had a peculiar name of ὕδωρ χεῖρας, the other they call ἀπονίψασθαι.

Their *poſture* at eating was lying upon κλίναι, *beds* (imitated by the Roman *Lecti*) with a ψιάθος, a *mat* [l] cloſe by, which had bed-clothes, and all to ſleep upon. Thoſe κλίναι were uſually covered with skins: according to that in the [m] Poet of one that lay ſnorting upon a full belly,

[l] Poll. *l.* 6. *c.* 2.

[m] Ariſtoph. *in Equit.*

Ῥέγχει μεθύων ἐν ταῖσι βύρσαις ὑπτιος.

And ſometimes with Tapeſtry, for the better ſort: for with ſuch *Achilles* his Embaſſadours are entertained in [n] *Homer*,

[n] *Il.* 10.

——— τάπησί τε πορφυρέοισι.

The manner of lying was on their ſides, and leaning upon their elbows: and therefore *Silenus*, in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they ſate at meat upon the ground) θὲς ὦ πᾶ ἀγκῶνα εὐρύθμως, *to place his elbow handſomely.* They reſted their feet upon a θρῆνυς, or a *foot-ſtool*: ſuch a one as *Juno* would beſtow upon *Somnus* for the ſame uſe,

Τῷκεν ὄπιχθεν λιπαρὲς πόδας εἰλαπινάζων.

And yet I remember one in the Poet's *Veſpæ*, asking how he ſhould ſit, was bid γόνασ' ἐκλείνειν, *to ſtretch out his knees.* The Table was ordinary *Tripus.* Unleſs the man were of a higher *ſtomach* than he that ſaid, *Sit mihi Menſa Tripes*: for then it might be of another faſhion. But uſually it was made with three legs, and an ἐπίθημα upon it, called ὅλμος (in imitation of the *Tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and ſet on, as they had occaſion. Of what faſhion ſoever it was, they uſed to reverence it with a great deal of Religion: ſo as not to have any uncivil or prophane or immodeſt diſcourſe, as long as they ſate at it. For why (ſays [o] *Syneſius*) it *is holy* and *conſecrated* to *Jupiter* φίλιος, and ξένιος. Which gave occaſion to that expreſſion of *Demoſthenes*, [p] Πῶ δ' ἄλες; πῶ τράπεζα; πῶ σπονδαί; And to [q] *Juvenal's reverentia menſæ.* The [r] firſt that ever dared to prophane the *Table*, were the Women that killed *Tereus* his Son, and ſerved him up in the Diſh.

[o] *Ep.* 57.

[p] Π. παραπρ.

[q] *Sat.* 2.

[r] Pauſ. *in Phoch.*

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Greeks (they ſay) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Maſts and Acrons, for their Bread at leaſt, if not for their Meat. And there were βαλανοφάγοι, people employed of purpoſe to gather them. There was no [a] *Cereale ſolum*, in thoſe days, no fear of *menſas conſumimus*. 'Twas enough for the luxury of *later* days, to make *paniceas menſas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In alluſion to the uſe of this Food, [b] *A. Gellius* ſays that the Romans made their *civica corona* of *Oaken* boughs, *quoniam cibus victûſque antiquiſſimus quernus capi ſolitus ſit, In remembrance of their oaken diet.* After Maſt, they lookt lower and found better food in Barley. For that kind of Corn was the [c] firſt in uſe. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and Teeth came up, it was made a puniſhment to uſe it, as [d] *Suetonius* ſays, *decimatas hordeo pavit.* Their way of uſing Corn at *firſt*, before that Mills came up (οἱ μύλοι, ſaid to be firſt invented by *Mylas*) was to roſt it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: and then *pinſere* to *beat* it, and *knead* it into hard lumps or *loaves*. Thoſe that did this, the Romans called * *Pinſores*, which afterwards came to *Piſtores*, *Bakers*. We reade of קלי [f] *parched ſtuff* among the *Iſraelites* too, even there where we reade of flower, and ſo it was not for need that they uſed it. In time it came to varieties: and I alſo might ſay a great deal concerning them; as likewiſe of their uſual diſhes at Feaſts, both Fiſh and Fleſh. But you may have enough in *Athenæus* with little pains and leſs profit. Onely I deſire to obſerve one thing, that of all the parts of a Beaſt, the Brain might by no means be ſeen upon a Table. For they loathed to eat it, as much as a *Pythagorean* would to eat a *Bean*: and thought, that none but he that had loſt his ſenſes, would offer to devour that, from which all the *ſenſes* had their *life*. Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *brain* might not be in their mouths to *ſpeak* it, as

[a] Virg. *Æn.*

[b] *L.* 5. *c.* 6.

[c] Artemidor. *l.* 1. *c.* 71.

[d] *In* Aug. *c.* 24.

* Serv. *ad Æn.* 1.

[f] 2 Sam. *c.* 17. *v.* 38.

as well as to eat it. And therefore [g] *Sophocles*, when he ſpeaks of *Lychas* his throwing from the rock into the Sea, and daſhing out his Brains, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the Brain *white marrow of his head*,

Κόμας ὑ λαικὸν μυελὸν ἐκχεῖνει μέσα
Κρατός.

Hecuba in *Euripides* ſpeaking of *Aſtyanax* his throwing down from the Tower by the Greeks, relates it after the ſame manner, calling it ὀστέων ῥαγέντων φόνον, adding withall, ἵν' αἰσχρὰ μὴ λέγω, *with reverence be it ſpoken.*

But as for the Entrals, ἀλλᾶντες, no diſh ſo common as that, inſomuch that you ſhould have ſome covetous fellows make a Feaſt of nothing elſe. Such a Feaſt they called more peculiarly ἔλεον, or μαγειρικὸν τραπέζιον. The Meat was ſerved up in diſhes of Wood, or Braſs (for the better ſort) and every ones portion at his place.

The Drink, which they had at Feaſts during Meal-time, was uſually Wine mingled with Water to allay the ſtrength of it. And this mixture they ſay was the invention of *Amphyction* (him whom they report to have firſt inſtituted the meeting of the ſeven Cities called *Concilium Amphyctionicum*) but I have another ſtory for you from [h] *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Phyſician; and it is this. When *Bacchus* firſt brought his Wines from the *Red Sea* into *Greece*, the people came preſently flocking to the Sea ſide, and fell ſo immoderately to the liquor, that ſome became dead drunk, and ſome raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a ſudden tempeſtuous ſhowre, when they returned again, found ſome of the Rain *mingled* with the Wine, which they had left in the Cups, and drinking freely of it, σφεσιν ὑ ἄλυπον ἔχον ἐπέλιωσιν, notwithſtanding found no ſuch effects as the former did, but continued ſober. This (they ſay) is the reaſon that at the firſt bringing in of the κεκραμένον, or *mixed Wine* to the Table, they uſed to remember Δία Σωτῆρα, *Jupiter* the Founder of the rain, and the *mixture*. To which they added the *health* called Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου, if the Feaſt were a *Victor*'s Feaſt; and ὡραίου γάμου, if it were a Wedding: altering the name of the Health, accor-

[g] *In Trachin.*

[h] *L.* 15.

according to the occaſion of the Feaſt. And yet *Sophocles* ſeems to make the third round to be to *Jupiter Servator*,

——ϗ Διὸς σωτῆρος·
Σπονδὴ τρίτα κρατῆρος.

Preſently after Meal came in ἄκρατον the Wine *in puris naturalibus*, whereof (it may be) προπόμα, *promuliſis*, or *guſtatio*, the *firſt taſte* before they went to eating uſed to be. The great *Crater* being filled, the *Sympoſiarch* began a health, either to the *good Genius* (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the *goodly* God that invented the Liquor. This health is called *Poculum* not *Charitatis*, but ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος· and ſo to drink it διὰ ῥώμης πεῖν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, making it a religious buſineſs, as if it were a *Libation* or a Drink-offering, as he ſays [i] Σπονδὴν λαβὲ, ϗ πεῖσον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος. And many times they prayed too, crying out ὦ δαίμων ἀγαθέ. Some ſay, this health was at the beginning of the Feaſt. But they did but ſip at it, and therefore *Heſychius* interprets ἀγαθοδαιμονισαὶ for ὀλιγοπλισαὶ, *little drinkers*. The laſt health of all, which they drank juſt as they went to bed, was to *Mercury*, as to the God of ſleeping and dreams,

[i] Ariſtoph. *in Eq.*

——Ἀργειφόντῃ
Οἱ πυμάτῳ κοίνασκον.

for that was the reaſon (ſays *Athenæus*) δοκεῖ γὰρ Ἑρμῆς ὕπνου προεστάτης εἶναι. Yet ſome ſay it was Διὸς τελείου. Ἀσκὸς, the Bottle or Veſſel out of which they filled the Wine, was uſually made of the ſkin of a Boar. And therefore in *Lyſiſtrate (Ariſtophanis)* it is called by the name of κάπρος, and the Wine αἷμα, *blood*, and the pouring out σφάγια, *ſlaughter*, as if the Boar were a-killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they called it φιλοτήσιον κύλικα, or τιλοτησίαν, *a cup of good friendſhip*: and ſuch kind of expreſſions δεξιώσεις, *takings, or pledgings*: according to that,

——χρυσοῖς δεπάεσσι·
Δεξιδέτην ἀλλήλοις——

And thus if a great man kept the Feaſt, when he drank to his Favourite, he gave him the Cup to keep. But if he drank a health to one whom he loved (ἐρωμένου or φίλου, his Friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himſelf, and beſtowed the

ed the reſt upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would ſit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himſelf waking till morning, had a πυρα-μῦς, a Cake made of flower and honey for his labour, juſt as the women uſe to have in *Theſmophoria*. In ſuch mad fits as theſe, they were wont to have γέφυρας riddles propoſed; which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unleſs he had leave, (perhaps it was unleſs he *took* his leave) of the Maſter of the Feaſt. And here I might eaſily ſpeak enough of their Κότταβοι, but I think a *little* is ſufficient, and *that* I have done already.

Now the Cups wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls horns. Ἐν τοῖς κέρασι, ſays the Scholiaſt upon *Nicander*, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ κερᾶσαι. Inſomuch that the word κερᾶσαι, to fill drink, ſeemed to be derived from κέρατα theſe *horns*, *Scilicet*. Hence it was that they uſed to picture *Bacchus* with *Bulls horns*. Nay the *Argivi* made his picture *all* Bull, which occaſioned ſome to call him down right by the name of *Taurus*, a Bull. And the reaſon of thoſe fancies was (ſays the Scholiaſt) διὰ τὸ παρῳδικὸν τῆς πυόλου, τετέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς οἴνης ἰοχῆς, for the ſtrange (ſays he) or rather the *Bull-wood* carriage of thoſe that uſe his Liquor. But the beſt is,

Dat Deus immiti cornua curta bovi.

Afterward they grew weary of Horns, and came to their Canns, which they ſeem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his ſake too no queſtion, to whom the Wood belongs)

[k] Ποτῆρα δ' ἐν χείρεσσι κίσσινον λαβών.

[k] Eurip. *Alc.* v. 756.

CAP. V.

De iis quæ à diſcumbentibus fieri ſolebant.

FOR their behaviour at a Table, ſpitting and coughing, and ſpeaking aloud, was counted uncivil in any, but a Gentleman (as we ſay in the Univerſity, that nothing is freſh in a Senior) and to him it was a glory ἂν μανῇ πάνυ, ſays

ſays *Stobæus*, to *ſpit ſtoutly*, or as *Quintilian* calls it, *clarè excreare*, as it is among us for great men to ſit and eat careleſly. But *paring of nails* was ſuch a *forbid* thing, that no gentility could bear it out. *Heſiod* (as 'tis thought) long ſince *abominated* the *incivility*, or what ſhall I call it, to hit his meaning:

Μηδ' ἀπὸ πενθήζοιο, θεῶν ἐνὶ δαῖτὶ θαλείῃ,
Αὖον ἀπὸ χλωρῆ τάμνειν αἴθωνι σιδήρῳ.
Nor from the five branch'd green do with a knife
At feaſting cut the wither'd for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his Παῖς, or his *Pedee*, to whom they uſed to deliver, τὰ ἀποφορητὰ, choice bits, or ſuch dainties as they liſted beſt, to keep, or to carry home with them: but I muſt confeſs it was counted ſomewhat *baſe*: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* Feaſt indeed, and *open* houſe. Thoſe Boys or Servants were commonly *Black-moors*, after the faſhion of the Romans,

——*tibi pocula curſor*
Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus oſſea Mauri.

Your μερίδες, *portions*, which we reade of, were another thing, as a piece of the Victime at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choiceſt Diſhes at a Feaſt, ſent by all the company in a publick manner to Friends that were abſent. For ſuch *Plutarch* reports to have been ſent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he ſacrificed at *Corinth*: and *Ariſtophanes* (in his *Acarnanes*) by the Bride at a Wedding,

Ἔπεμψέ τίς σοι νυμφίῳ παῖδι κρέα
Ἐκ τῶν γάμων.

And indeed not onely the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jews too, are to be commended for remembring their Friends in this kind: for the Jews both at Sacrifices (as * *Elkanah* did to his Wife,) and alſo at Feaſts (as thoſe were bid to doe by [a] *Nehemiah*) uſed to ſend מנות *portions to them, for whom nothing was prepared.* When they had greaſed their fingers, they would take a piece of ſoft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the dogs, and from thence came the Proverb, *tanquam canis vivens è magdaliâ*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for ſo they called ſuch

* 1 Sam. 1. 4.
[a] Nehem. 8. 10.

a piece of bread from σπμάσειν, *to wipe*; such a thing as their Cooks σὰις or χειρόμακτον, a piece of *course bread*, which they had for the same use.

The *Desert* consisted of *Nuts* and *Fruit*, and all sorts of *Junkets*: they called this service by the several names of [b] ἔπυκλα, πεωγάλματα, ὀπτοτρήματα, ἐπιτραπεζώματα, ἐπιδόρπισμα, μεταδόρπα, *Epidorpia mensæ*. And now to *crown* all with dancing and musick, which *Homer* calls [c] ἀναθήματα δαιτὸς, (usually accompanied with ἀκροάματα, *merry songs*, and *tales* (because they themselves spent most time in *practising* it, I shall be bold to spend a little the more in relating it.

[b] or ἐπαΐκλα.

[c] *Coronas Convivii.*

CAP. VI.

De cantu Convivali, & Scoliis.

ALthough *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras*, speak against the use of Musick at a *Feast*: and *Euripides* say, it were better used at a *Funeral*, to make the Mourners merry: yet you shall find *Xenophon* himself (in himself) *commending*, and [a] *Phemius* (in *Homer*) *practising* the same. Now the custome was when they came to dancing and the Musick (whereas at *Meal-time* less Cups would serve) *then* to have greater, and a *fresh* Bowl (κρατῆρα) to begin with, for such a one they had at every *change*, if they observed that fashion we reade of in *Euripides*,

[a] *Odyss.* 1.

[b] *In Ion.* v. 1177.

[b] Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς αὐλὸς ἦλθεν ἐς κρατῆρά τε
Καινὸν, μέσων ἔλεξεν, ἁρπάζειν χρεὼν
Οἰνηρὰ σκύφη σμικρὰ, μεγάλατ' ἀσφέρειν.

The Song most common among them was *Harmodius*: So called, (just as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the same name, and as we call *our* Songs *Chloris* and the like) because it was sung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Aristogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicidæ*, that put an end to the tyranny of the *Pisistratidæ*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the strumpet *Leæna* (as *beastly* a name as *Lupa*) so faithfully loved their bodies, that when she was rackt

rackt by the Tyrant, to discover their conspiracies, she bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and spit it in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, Φίλταΐς Ἁρμόδιε, ὥ τοί πω τέθνηκας, &c. You have mention of it in *Aristophanes* his *Acharnenses*, and his *Vespæ*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a Song to the praise of *Admetus*, (for most of *their* Songs, as well as those of the *Romans*, tended to the praise of one famous Worthy or other, (It began thus, Ἀδμήτου λόγον ὦ ἑταῖρε μαθὼν, τὸν ἀγαθὸν φίλει, τὸν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου, &c. where you may observe the opposing ἀγαθὸν to δειλόν. For so you shall find κακὸς, commonly for a Coward in Heathen Writers, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) *valour*, and *fortitude*, the onely *vertue* worthy the name. Besides these two which I have named, you shall find a great many more such in Authours, under the name of Σκόλια. I shall onely give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, against *Riches*:

[c] Ὄφελες ὦ τυφλὲ Πλοῦτε
Μήτ' ἐν γῇ, μήτ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ, μήτ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ
Φαίνεσθαι.
Ἀλλὰ τάρταρόν τε ναίειν κ' Ἀχέροντα
Διὰ σὲ γὰ πάντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακά.

[c] *Vid.* Σχ. *in* Aristoph. *Ran.*

Those kind of Songs which they called Σκόλια, were first invented by one [d] *Terpander*. They were so called either, first, διὰ τὴν τῶν κλινῶν σκολιὰν, (says the Scholiast upon *Ranæ*) *from the* crooked *placing of the beds*, and the lying of the guests upon them. Or else, secondly, (as the Scholy says upon the same Poet in *Vespis*) from the *flexuous* disorderly manner in the singing. For there were in use among the Greeks (says * *Dicæarchus*, περὶ μουσικῶν Ἀγώνων) three ways of singing Songs at such Meetings; the first, ὑπὸ πάντων, *by all together*; the second, καθ' ἕνα, by one after another in order as they sate; the third, one after another, but ἐναλλάξ, not in order, and ὑπὸ συνεσταότων, either by such as had best skill, or by such as he that sung last; should please to chuse. I say to chuse, for in singing a *Scholium*, as 'tis properly used, this was the custome: He that *Scholied* first took him a Myrtle Rod, called ἀσπάλαθος from ἄσπα and ἔχειν, and holding

[d] Plutarch. *de Mus.*

* *Schol. in Ran.*

ding it in his hand like a *Thyrſus* (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*, begun in any place of *Simonides*, or *Steſichorus*, or *Æſchylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleaſed. The Verſes which they ſung, they called by the name of ῥαψῳδίαι, or ῥαβδῳδίαι, or σκῳδίαι, from the σκῖποι, or the Rods, as being *apta virgæ*, in the words of *Apuleius*. When he had done, he delivered his bough to whom he thought fit: and he to whom the bough was delivered, was to go on where the other left off: and thus it went round till all had done. And then he that was judged by the company to come off beſt, and have *capt* the reſt, had his [f] ᾠδεῖον (as they called it) *i. e.* a *Cup*, or ſome ſuch thing for his reward. Unleſs they ſung ſome of *Homer*'s verſes, for then both the bough was *Laurel*, and the prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called ἀρνῳδοὶ, as well as *Homeriſtæ*. [g] Others ſay it was the cuſtome preſently after the taking away, to have a Harp to go from one to another, and every one as he was the beſt able, or as his mind gave him, to ſing to the Harp, with a bough in his hand beſides. A third reaſon of the name is given by *Orus* (a Grammarian:) *viz.* becauſe the *eye*, and the *underſtanding* of thoſe that ſung, were by over ſtrong drink become σκολιοὶ, or ἀνεσταμμένοι, *diſtorted*, as they are in Mad-men (ὀμμάτων ὀρθῶν, and ὀρθῆς φρενὸς, *right eyes and a right mind*, are put [h] together in the *Poet.*) Fourthly, The Song was called Σκόλιον, (ſays the [i] Scholiaſt) by the Figure *Antiphraſis*, becauſe it was leaſt difficult of any, and μάλιστα ὀλιγόστιχον, *conſiſting but of a few ſtaves*. But this etymology in another place of the ſame Book is utterly diſliked, τὰ γὰρ δύσφημα διὰ τὸ εὐφημότερον μεταλαμβάνειν, ὡς ἐπὶ τυμπάνιν, *becauſe that figure Antiphraſis, is always by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name.* *Origen* (they ſay) wrote a Poem, wherein he briefly compriſed all ſuch things, as ſeemed to be intricate and perplex, and gave it the title of *Scolia*. [k] *Pericles* is ſaid to have made his Laws, in the manner of *Scolies*. I think not for any obſcurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

[f] Euſtath. *Il.* 1.

[g] Σχ. Ariſtoph. *in Nub.*

[h] Soph. *in Oed. Tyr.*

[i] *In Ranis.*

[k] Σχ. Ariſt. *in Ran.*

Τὰ Σκό-

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not oppoſed (whatever it may ſeem to be) to that which they call τὸ ὄρθιον μέλος (which might be ſung by one alone, whereas the *Scolies* could not) ſo called, not becauſe it was ſung *right* along and in order; but either becauſe the perſons ſung ὄρθια, that is, (as *Suidas* expounds it) *altâ & erectâ voce, with a long blaſt*, (like *the Trumpet in Judges, c. 7. 5.*) or becauſe it was ſung κατὰ νόμον ὄρθιον, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* ſays *Arion* plaid after that way upon the Ship, and *Euſtathius* and *Suidas* ſay that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander*, τοσόντον Ἄρεος ἔπλησεν, *&c. So moved his ſpirits, that he leapt immediately to his arms and took them up to fight.* Inſtead of *Scolies*, ſometimes you ſhould have whole *Comedies* acted, and then none ſo ſoon as *Menander's*.

But amidſt all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableneſs and uncertainty of their conditions (for this they ſay was the uſe they made of them) they had their σφαῖρα, *oſcilla*, or *oſſicula*, like thoſe which they uſe at *Rome* at the Feaſt *Sigillaria*, or ſuch as [1] *Auguſtus* is ſaid to have plaid with *(talis aut oſſiculis ludebat cum pueris)* things ſo artificially made with joynts and pins, that in ſo many throws they would yield you a thouſand ſhapes, or *mouths*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain Feaſt thrown thoſe things on the Table, preſently cryed out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, *viz.* to be merry therefore while he might,

[1] Suet.

Heu, heu nos miſeros, quàm totus homuncio nil eſt!
Sic erimus cuncti poſtquam nos auferet orcus.
Ergo vivamus dum licet eſſe benè.

And juſt ſo the Egyptians us'd at Feaſts to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in, bid every one, [m] πίνε καὶ τέρπου, ἔσῃ γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος, *to eat and drink, for to morrow he ſhould dye.*

[m] Herod. *l.* 2.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A *Stranger*, whether you take it for a *Gueſt* or for an *Alien*, ſo it were not a *God*, was always had in ſo religious eſteem at *Athens*, ὡς ἀνόσιον καὶ ἐναγῆ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν, ὃς ἂν κακώσειε τὸν ξένον, *that* (as the *Scholy* ſaith upon [a] *Euripides*) *if any one wronged a ſtranger*, he *was lookt upon as a profane curſed fellow*: according to the Poet himſelf in another [b] place,

[a] *In Helen.*

[b] *In Taur. v. 468.*

——*Let go the ſtrangers hands,*
Which being ſacred may not be in bands.

And good reaſon, for

——θεὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες
Ξένοι——

all ſtrangers have *Jupiter*'s own Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* ſo *malus*, as Ξεναπάτη. Now this eſteem they had;

Firſt, In obedience to the Laws of Ζεὺς ξένιος, or εὔξενος, you may call him *Jupiter hoſpes*: for [c] *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoſis* ſpeaks of *Jovis hoſpitis ara*, an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the inhoſpital people, for *their brutiſh inhumanity*, are ſaid to have been turn'd into *Ceraſta*'s Bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius*, as much as he was for the *ſtrangers*, was notwithſtanding better *known* and honoured than any of the *Jupiters* beſides, according to that of *Plutarch*, Ξενίοις Διὸς πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι, as if he had cared more for them than other people,

[c] *l.* 10. *Fab.* 6.

[d] Virg. *Æn.* 1.

[d] *Jupiter, hoſpitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.*

I remember indeed once to ſhew how well he was pleaſed with that vertue of hoſpitality, being in his travels in *Phrygia* with *Mercury*, lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body elſe would receive him, in requital thereof, he preſerved the houſe from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

Secondly, In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expreſly commanded them, * τοὺ ξένους μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι, *not to wrong*

* Xenoph. *l.* 3. Ἀπομν.

wrong a ſtranger. And this made *Ariſtippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, preſently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. Nay, ſays [f] *Tully*, *Execrationibus publicis ſancitum eſt, &c.* (ſpeaking of refuſal to ſhew a ſtranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publick execrations.* [f] *L. de Offic.*

If a *ſtranger* had received any wrong (becauſe they might not be ſo *familiar* as to doe it themſelves) there were προξένοι, allowed of purpoſe to plead for them, as well as πρόξενοι to entertain them. Unleſs you will ſay that theſe laſt Officers were not for ξένοι, that is, *hoſpites*, ſuch as tarried a while and away; but for ξένοι, that is, μέτοικοι, *inquilini*, ſuch as ſet up their habitation in the place where they come. For thoſe were made to pay their μετοίκιον, an yearly rent to the City, the Men twelve, and the [g] Women ſix Drachms; which if they did not pay they ſold them, and put them into the Ships for Gally-ſlaves, as not reckoning them *clean* Corn, and true Citizens, any more than [h] *Ariſtotle*; but onely (in the words of *Ariſtophanes*) ἄλυρα τῶν ἀχύρων, *the outcaſts and chaff*, and no more. Even the *Grecians* themſelves (as *evil Beaſts* as they were) ſeem to have had *humanity* enough in this reſpect. Otherwiſe what meant their [i] ξενικὰ τράπεζαι, two diſtinct Tables, and a Chamber kept a-purpoſe for ſtrangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, ſo much valued the hoſpitality ſhewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to ſpare his Houſe alone. [g] Iſæus *contr.* Elpagor. [h] *L. 3. Polit.* [i] Athenæus.

I muſt confeſs indeed the *Lacedemonians* hear but ill for their Ξενηλασία, and *Lycurgus* his Law againſt admittance of ſtrangers, but upon certain days, and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even *in pace*) brand them with the name of διμοιροξένοι. Nay it is ſaid how that they never made any λεωξοσέλεις, (as they called it) *free of their City*, but onely two, *viz. Tiſamenus* the Poet, and his Brother *Hegias*. But I ſtill hope, their Ξένοι, *Strangers*, were all one with οἱ βάρβαροι, *Barbarians*, for whom the word is often uſed, ſays *Herodotus*, and the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*. For elſe certainly *Plato* would never

never have given ſuch commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the *nature* of (as we uſually take it) *policy*, as it is inconſiſtent with the *name* of πολιτικὴ, to care moſt for ones *private* good.

CAP. VIII.

De Hoſpitibus excipiendis.

IF the *Athenians* were ſo kind τοῖς ξένοις, to *every ſtranger*, properly ſo called, what were they (think you) τοῖς ἰδιοξένοις, to their *own ſtrangers* (as we uſe to call it) or to their ſworn *Gueſts?* Thoſe had their ἀσφάλιον, or σύμβολον, or *teſſeram hoſpitii*, ſomething or other like a ticket, to ſhew for their quarter when they came: ſuch as *Jaſon* in courteſie offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement,

Ξένοις τ' πέμπειν σύμβολ' οἱ δεχήσοι σ' εὖ.

So far were the ξενοδόκοι, thoſe that entertained Gueſts (you may call them ξένοι too, for it is a name for both, like *hoſpes*, perhaps to ſhew their near relation) from ſo much as ſuſpecting a return of hatred for kindneſs, that it coſt *Dio* no leſs than his life; who though he were forewarned of an intention of *Callippus* his Gueſt to murther him, took no care to avoid him, αἰσχυνθεὶς, *being aſhamed* (ſays *Plutarch* in his Chapter *de vitioſo pudore*) φυλάττεσθαι φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον, *to beware of one that was his Friend and* Gueſt *too* (as if *that* were more.)

The manner of entertaining ſtrangers was this. As ſoon as ever they ſaw him, [a] δεῖπνον ἐπαγγέλλουσι πρῶτον, the firſt care they had, was to have ſomewhat for him to eat. [b] *Egredientem illico è navi adduxit ad cœnam*, ſays *Terence*. When he came to the door (as ſome ſay) they both joyned *feet* on the threſhold, and there mutually engaged themſelves to be true and truſty. [c] *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad oſtium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium.* And therefore *Hoſpes* is ſaid to be derived from *hoſtium*, or *oſtium*, a *door*, and *pes*, a *foot*.

[a] Pindar.

[b] *In Heaut.*

[c] *Vetus Diction.*

a *foot.* When he came in, they called for the *Strangers Bottle* (as he ſays in [d] *Electra*, ἀπὸν ὃν φέρω ξένοις) and drank to him in a Cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (ſays *Athenæus*) ὡς ἢ ξενίαν αὐτῷ πιῶντες, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ οἷος μέλει, *as giving him honour, becauſe he was a ſtranger, not becauſe he was this or that particular man.* Now they uſed Wine rather than any other Liquor (ſays the ſame Authour) becauſe they took it to be, [*] ἐλκωτικόν τι πρὸς φιλίαν, παραθερμαίνον ἢ ψυχῶν, &c. *powerfull to warm the affection too as well as the ſtomach.* The next thing they preſented him with, was Salt; intimating their friendſhip muſt be ſo ſeaſoned with good carriage, as it might keep long and ſweet. All the time of his being in the houſe, this reſpect he had, They made their own Daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay, and to bring him water in a Baſon, and waſh his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by ſeveral places in *Homer* both obſerved and approved by [f] *Athenæus*, who makes it to be an ancient cuſtome, πιεῖ Ὅμηρος ἢ τὰς κόρας ἢ τὰς γυναῖκας λούσας τοὺς ξένους, ἀρχαῖον ἢ τοῦτο ἔθος (ſaith he,) Secondly, They allotted Ξενῶνας, Chambers a-part from the reſt, of purpoſe for ſtrangers. Which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the [g] Poet's *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* coming to his houſe in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted αἰσχρὸν, ſo *unfit to be ſeen by the ſacred eyes of a ſtranger* as he there ſays) was therefore about to be gone again, replyed; *no ſuch need, good Hercules, notwithſtanding the mourning in the houſe,*

Χωρεῖς ξενῶνες εἰσὶν, οἷς σ' εἰσάξομεν.

For we have Chambers on the other ſide of the houſe which we keep onely for ſtrangers, and you ſhall be there.

Thirdly, When they ſate at Meals, they had a Table alſo to themſelves, as may be conjectured by that which *Oreſtes* had at his being at *Athens*,

—— [h] ξένια μονοδείπνιζά μοι
Πάρεδρον οἶκων

Laſtly, They had τὰς κεκριδας *places* allowed them at the *Shews*, inſtituted by *Sphyromachus*. Therefore to return reſpect again to the people of the houſe, as at his coming into

[d] Eurip. v. 511.

[*] *Idem Ibid.*

[f] L. 1.

[g] V. 545.

[h] Eurip. *Eleſt.* 4. 849.

the Countrey, he ought to doe reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place, ſaluting the ground with a kiſs,

[i] Ovid. *Met. l.* 3.

[i] *Cadmus agit grates, peregrinaque oſcula terræ*
Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrôſque ſalutat.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to doe Divine Service, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς unto *their* Gods eſpecially, or to the Gods of the *place*; as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*: and as they themſelves, if they had been from home at their return, were to doe θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ἑστίαις, (as [k] *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the Gods of the *Houſe*. In like manner, at his going out of the Countrey, when he came to the borders he kiſſed the ground, and ſo took his leave of the *Genius*: as [l] *Ovid* ſays,

[k] Eurip. *Herc.* v. 609.

[l] *Met. l.* 13.

——*dant oſcula terræ*
Troades——

Whenſoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an incivility to detein him. *Menelaus* accordingly practiſed, and left it for a rule,

Χρὴ ξεῖνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν ἐθέλοντα τ' πέμπειν.

And parting they uſually gave ξενήια δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, ſome thing or other for a remembrance, or to bear their charges by the way. Beſides every man's private benevolence, there was Πανδοχεῖον, a common Hoſpital maintained by the City. Where, if any ſtrangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complain to the Magiſtrate and be righted. Indeed a murtherer or ſuch like perſon, they might not by any means πυρὶ δέχεσθαι (as he calls it) entertain him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aquæ & igni interdictum.*

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus Sublevandis.

AND now in the laſt place, I have a word to ſay alſo of the good will which the *Athenians* bare to the poor. And certainly if they intended no more than the

Honour

Honour of their City, they would be loath to ſuffer any to become a * beggar; of whom *Iſocrates* ſays in his *Areopag.* πῶ πόλιν καλήκωτε, *that he is a diſparagement to the City wherein he lives.* To prevent the diſgrace, every Ἑταιρεία or *Society*, kept a *poor man's Box*, or a common Treaſury, for the relief of ſuch as came to poverty, and the ranſome of the Captives. Into that Box once every month they uſed εἰςφέρειν ἔρανον, *conferre eranum* (as *Plautus* ſays *eranum amici contulerunt*) to put every man's contribution; and from thence were the contributers called by the name of ἐρανισταὶ or ἐράνων πληρωταί. He that thus came to a *gathering* (as we call it) was ſaid συλλέγειν or κομίζεσθαι τ᾽ ἔρανον, as in *Ariſtotle* (*Acroas. l. 2. c. 5.*) where he makes this inſtance of a thing κατὰ τύχω, *that happened by chance*; if a creditour, ἕνεκα τῦ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ χρεῶφειλον ἦλθεν ἂν κομιζόμενος τ᾽ ἔρανον, *with his Bond in his hand ſhould come to his debtor for money, when he with his Roll in his hand, was come to the Pariſh* (as we ſay) *for a collection.* Such another contribution was that which they called ἔρανον παμπῶον, appointed by *Ariſtides* for thoſe that aſſiſted him in the War againſt the *Medes*, of which *Ariſtides* in his *Lyſiſtrate*. If there hapned any controverſie in this buſineſs, there were δίκαι ἐρανικαὶ, Laws and Writs made for the purpoſe.

* That there may be no poor among you, &c. Deut. 15. 4. So ſome render אֶפֶס כִּי לֹא יִהְיֶה בְּךָ אֶבְיוֹן

• *Plato* ſpeaks very well of this † cuſtome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his anſwer to *Pliny* approves it, permitting the uſe thereof to the *Amiſeni* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, ſi tali Collationi, &c.* † *L. 9. de Leg.*

Other proviſion there was beſides this *Eranus*, for their relief. For the richer ſort were wont every new Moon, to make a great Feaſt of Bread, and other courſe fare for this purpoſe. Which Feaſt being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occaſion to them to call every courſe beggarly Feaſt by the name of *Hecates cœna.* But as bad as the fare was, the *perſon* in *Pluto Ariſtophanis*, took his argument even from thence to commend the condition of the poor, above that of the rich. Says he,

——παρὰ τ᾽ Ἑκάτης ἔξεστι τῦτο πυθέσθαι
Εἴτε τὸ πλυτεῖν, εἴτε τὸ πένην βέλτιον, *&c.*
Ask Hecate, and ſhe will tell you which is beſt.

To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, money allowed them out of the Treasury, to pay for *places* at the *Plays* and *Shews*.

SECT. III.

De Ritibus Bellicis.

CAP. I.

De Militibus.

HAving spoken of the Customs used by the *Athenians* amongst *themselves*, it will be fitting in the next place to say something of those which they used towards their *enemies*; and after that of those towards either, or both in Divinations.

The Warlike provision which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being listed *inter Ephebos* (which was, as I told you, at the age of eighteen) were from that time till twenty, ὐν τοῖς περιπόλοις, (as they called it) that is, they must be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they must [a] περιπολεῖν τὰ περὶ πόλιν φρούρια, stand sentinel and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employed in the making of Works, and the like, according to that of [b] *Terence*, *Video herilem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Piræo abierit, nam ibi publicè est nunc.* The first of the two years they kept within the City; but the second they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a Shield and a Spear, and a χλαμύς, or Coat for a Livery. During these two years, they could not be compelled to fight ὑπερορίοις, *without the Liberties*. But ever after till forty they might. [c] And both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two years,

[a] Harpocr.

[b] *In Eunuch.*

[c] Ulpian. *ad* Olymp.

years, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the Ἐπώνυμος, regiſtred in this manner, Ὁ δεῖνα ἀπὸ τότε Ἐπωνύμει, *Such a one in pay, ever ſince ſuch a one was Archon Eponymus:* to ſhew how long every man had been in ſervice. Of theſe Ἐπώνυμοι, there were twenty two, according to the number of the years from eighteen to forty. They are called Ἐπώνυμοι λέξεως, from the λεξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, in which they liſted their names after they were twenty years old, and ſometimes Ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιῶν, becauſe they thus kept a name of every man's *age:* in oppoſition to [d] Ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν, who were but to keep a note of their *Tribes.* Now ſome there were that were *exempted*, and ſome that were *excluded* from that ſervice: the former were ſuch as Cuſtom-holders, οἱ τὸ τέλος πεπρωμένοι, who therefore had the privilege, ἡ ἀτελείας· or the χορδάλης, *i. e.* οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου χορδόνλες, *Bacchus* his *Salii*, or *dancing Prieſts.* The latter were, οἱ θῆτες, ſlaves, and all ſuch *proletarious* People, who were not to be employed but in caſe of neceſſity, nor had the honour ἐν καλαύροις στρατεύεσθαι, which the others had. For *they*, as ſoon as they had taken the Oath in the Temple of *Agraulus*, ὃ καλαυρύειν τὰ ὅπλα, were liſted by the Πολέμαρχος, or General (as many as he κατέλεξεν, *made choice* of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the Καταλογος, or *Muſter-roll*, which he kept for the ſame purpoſe, having beſide that another Πίναξ, or *Table-book*, for ſuch as were *Emeriti*, *out of ſervice*, and diſcharged. After they had been liſted by the General, they were to be liſted again by the under Officer; the Ὁπλῖται, or the Foot by the Ταξίαρχοι, and the Horſe-men by the Φύλαρχοι. The Ὁπλῖται were of three ſorts. Firſt, thoſe more eſpecially ſo called, ſuch as uſed much Armour, βαρυλάτη ὁπλίσει, and were *Gravis armaturæ milites*, with their wide Shields and long Spears. Secondly, Ψιλοὶ, *Levis armaturæ milites*, ſuch as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrows, and Darts, and Stones for the ſling. And, Thirdly, Πελτασταὶ, a middle ſort between both, with their πέλται or ἀσπίδια, *narrow ſhields, and ſhort ſpears.* Such as they made choice of for Horſemen, were to be δυναλώπηξοι τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι

[d] Ariſtot. *de Rep. Ath.*

καὶ σώμασι, (ſays *Xenophon*) *able both in body and purſe*; and therefore were to be examined firſt by the *Senate* of 500, before they could be liſted; and ſo were likewiſe the Horſes themſelves, to try whether they were καυλίζοντες, *skittiſh*, or ψοφώδεις, (as the Scholiaſt calls it) *Noiſe-proof*. And this they did τῷ κώδωνι καὶ ψόφῳ, with a *Bell*, or a *Kettle-drum*, or a *Pipe*, I know not which I ſhall render it. And now I am put in mind of the Κώδων, which they uſed to make a noiſe withall, when they did περιπολεῖσθαι, *walk the round*, to try whether the Guards were aſleep or no, which they called Κωδωνοφορεῖν or Κωδωνίζειν,

——Κωδωνοφορεῖται, παννύχιος δὲ
Φυλακαὶ κωδωνίζουσι.

Inſomuch that Κωδωνίζειν, is uſed for the ſame with Πειράζειν, *to Try, or Prove* (as in *Ariſtophanis Batrachis*, ὅπου ποτὲ, κωδωνίσω) and ἀκωδώνιστον for ἀπείρατον, *intentatum*. (As in *Lyſiſtrate*, καὶ περάσασα πάντας ἐλέγχους ὡς οὐδὲν ἀκωδώνιστον ἐᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα μεθεῖναι.) If a Horſe had been * τετυμμένον, *worn and beaten out* with long ſervice, they marked him in the Jaw with the ſign of a τρόχος (a *wheel* I think) and gave him his πεῦσίππιον, (for ſo they called both the mark and the diſcharge it ſelf:) whence came the Proverb uſed by *Eupolis*, ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μοὶ ὀπτὸν ἐπιθεὶς πεῦσίππιον to give a man his πεῦσίππιον, that is his *diſcharge*. All their Horſes the Greeks reckoned to be conſecrated to the Sun, and *Beda* upon the *Kings*, gives the reaſon. *Audientes Græci ab Iſraëliticis, (quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat) quod Helias curru igneo, & equis igneis ſit ad cœleſtes tranſlatus (vel certè hoc ipſum inter alia depictum in pariete videntes) crediderunt viciniâ decepti nominis Solis hic tranſitum per cœlos eſſe deſignatum, & miraculum divinitùs factum commutârunt in argumentum erroris, &c.* becauſe *Helias* once was carried up to Heaven with Horſes, therefore *Helius* or the Sun, muſt be thought to have Horſes conſecrated to his ſervice ever after.

* Heſych.

[f] I. Poll. 8. c. 10. The Horſe-men, firſt, ſome were [f] διμάχαι, that had two *ways to fight*, with Armour for the purpoſe, and a Boy to hold their Horſe while they fought a-foot (a faſhion of *Alexander*'s own inventing.) Some were Ἱππαγωγοὶ, that had two *Horſes*,

Horſes, one to ride upon, and the other to lead, from ἀγωγή. Their manner of life was very high and ſtately, for many times they would πομπεύειν, that is, have a *tranſvection*, or ride into the City in pomp and triumph, with a Coach and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, uſually called by the name of a ξυσὶς, as it is in theſe Verſes,

Ὅταν σὺ μεγας ὢν ἀμι' ἐλαύνῃς σεῦς Πόλιν
Ὥσπερ Μεγακλέης ξυσὶδ' ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horſe, or ſit in the Chair. *Aurigæ* then were called Ἱππεῖς, and were better than Παραβάται, who lookt to the Coach onely.

The number of the Horſemen was greater or leſs, according to the number of the people. Otherwiſe (as *Pollux* ſaith) every ναυκραρία (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Moſt of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *aſſidui*, and went to War upon their own charges, inſomuch that they reckon'd it a very diſgracefull thing to be *ærarii*, or *metelli*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldier's pay, what it was, becauſe it was ſo often changed, I think I had better be ſilent. And concerning the habit, and diet of others onely this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbad them to be ἀβροδιαίτους, *dainty*, and to wear long hair, as ſome ſay: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant onely of their forelocks, which they were to cut, ἵνα μὴ παρέχοιεν ἐν τῇ τειχῶν ἁλίσκεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, *that the enemy might have no hold-faſt*, ſays *Plutarch* in his *Theſeus*, where he ſays alſo that the faſhion being firſt uſed by *Theſeus* was therefore called Θησηΐς.

CAP. II.

De Armis quibus vim propulſabant.

THE firſt makers of Armour are ſaid to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief Workman. The Metal whereof it was made, at the firſt was Braſs, ſays [a] *Pauſanias*; but for want of Iron, ſays *Heſiod*, Χαλκῷ

[a] *In Lacon.*

Χαλκῷ δ' εἰρχάζοντο, μίλας δ' ὑπ' ἔσκε σίδηρος.

The moſt noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the *Coat of Mail*. The moſt noted thing in the Helmet, was the *Creſt*, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore called by *Alcæus* Καρικὸς λόφος. The thing or the part wherein, or whereto it was faſtned they called * Φάκωμα, and to faſten it Φακοῦσθαι,

* Homer.

Πλοκμοὶ δ' οἱ χρυτῷ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκαντο.

The Creſt was double or treble, according to the quality of the perſon. For if he were an *Heros* it might be treble, ſays [b] *Euripides*, and *quadruple*, ſays [c] *Apollonius*,

[b] *In Oreſt.*

[c] *L.* 3.

Τελεφάλος φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπελάμπετο πήληξ.

The ſtuff whereof it was made, was uſually feathers, and the hair of a Horſe tail; and thence it is that it is called ἱππεῖς, and ἱππόκομος βυφάλεια, in [d] *Theocritus*; and that it is ſaid * τειχορρυεῖν when the hair fell off. The other parts of the Helmet bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as ὀφρύες the *eye-brows*, and the reſt, except the *Penthouſe*, τὸ γένειον. Of the *Shield*, both the *matter*, and the *form*, was of ſeveral kinds, for ſometimes it was made of Oziers woven together, according to that of [e] *Virgil*,

[d] *Idyl.* 23.

* Ariſtoph. *Pace.*

[e] *Æn.* 7.

——*flectúntque Salignas*
Umbonum crates——

(but then they called it [g] ἰτέαν) and ſometimes of wood: but moſt commonly of raw Ox-hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid one upon the other. *Ovid* ſays *Ajax* had *ſeptemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had ſeven pieces or foldings in it, and *Achilles* another that had ten. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Braſs beſides, as that of *Achilles* was,

[g] Heſych.

——*& æs & proxima rupit*
Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum eſt.

And therefore in [h] *Euripides* it is called χαλκόνωτος ἀσπίς. For the form of it, it was ſometimes long, ſometimes round, and ſometimes ſquare. The names of the ſeveral parts of it you may have in *I. Pollux*, *l.* 1. *c.* 10. Onely thus much I may tell you, firſt for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deal of curioſity, both for ſhew

[h] *Troad. v.* 1336.

ſhew and for uſe, as having κίγχρες ornaments to be ſeen, and ὀγχρωίαλα little holes to ſee others by, ſet in the ἴτυς, or the border. And ſecondly, for the invention of them; the handle by which they held it, called κάνων, or πόρπαξ, or ὄχανον, was invented by the *Cares*, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it καρικοργὲς ὄχανον: and ſo were likewiſe the [i] *umbilicus*, and the *Arms*, and moſt of the reſt. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they uſed to put a Shield and a Creſt into the Grave along with him. The *Armes* (τὰ σημεῖα, or ἐπίσημα) were different, according to the quality of the *bearer*. *Ulyſſes* had his δελφινόσημον, *Idomeneus* Grand-child to *Sol* a *Rouſt-cock* the *avant coureur* to the *Sun*. But the *Heroes* anciently, and for the moſt part, uſed to bear Eagles, [k] ἀετοὺς ἐπόντας χρυσᾶς τε καὶ χαλκηλάτους. To the Arms they added *verſes*, in commendation of the proweſs of the Perſon by which he deſerved thoſe Arms, and the names of the maker; ſuch as [l] *Pauſanias* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. The *Caſe* or *Theca* wherein the Shield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like *caſes*, according to that in *Andromache*,

[m] Κάλλιστα τεύχη ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασι.

[n] *Rhodiginus* ſays, that in the uſe of the Shield, there were ſome things which they obſerved to be *ominous*: for if it happen'd to ſtrike their knee, they counted it lucky: but if they ſtruck it with their Spear, 'twas an ill ſign. The moſt famous Shield that ever I read of in heathen Writers, was that of *Jupiter Ægiochus*, named Αἴγις, becauſe he covered it with the skin of his Nurſe the Goat called *Amalthæa*; this Shield he beſtowed upon *Minerva*, who ingraved upon it the *Stone-making* or *aſtoniſhing* head of *Meduſa*. Whether that *Scutum ſacrum* which *Alexander* is ſaid to have ſtoln, and to have carried always before him, were the ſame with this or no, I know not. Their Shields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the faſhion was alſo for the other ſorts of Arms) they ſuffered not to have their πόρπακες, *handles*, (or ſome ſuch neceſſary appurtenances) that ſo in caſe there ſhould be any inſurrection, they might be the leſs ready for uſe; which was the cauſe why he in the

[i] Strabo *l.* 14.

[k] Ariſtoph. *in Ran.*

[l] *In Eliatr.*

[m] Eut. *v.* 617.

[n] *L.* 21. *c.* 14.

Poet cryed out ſo as he did, when he ſaw it otherwiſe,

Οἵ μοι τάλας ἔχων γὲ πόρπακας.

For ſays another a little before,

Οὐ γὲ ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸ δῆμον ἐν πρεσβείᾳ
Ταύτας ἐᾶν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀναστῆναι.

The *Coats of Mail* were of three ſorts: the firſt ζῶμα, which reached from the navel to the knees: the ſecond Ἡμιθωράκιον, which covered half the breaſt; ſuch as *Polyænus* reports to have been much uſed by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great: The third θώραξ, which reached from the ſhoulders to the navel, ſo called [o] ἀπὸ τοῦ θεῖον ὠθεῖν, from *preſerving* the *heart*, and the *breaſt*: from which peculiar office of it, *Ariſtophanes* in *Acharnenſibus*, borrows the word θωρήξασθαι, for to ſignifie to be well-nigh drunk, (as we ſay when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed againſt the cold) and ἀκροθωράκας, to ſignifie ἀκρομεθύσους, *drunk to the top*. Now a *Thorax* was either πλοῦς, *all of one piece, plain* like πατὸς χιτῶν, *recta tunica*: or elſe ἀλυσιδωτὸς, with *chains* or plates of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coats of Mail) the *leather* I ſay, becauſe it was uſually made of a hide (τὸ σκύτος) as the *Scuta* were,

[o] *Etymol.*

[p] Ariſtoph. *in Pace.*

—— [p] τοῦ δ' θώρακος σκύτει.

So they ſay that the Latin word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum* the dryed and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil*,

Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco
Pugnatori operit.

[q] *Ibid.*

The holes where they put out their Armes [q] *Ariſtophanes* calls θαλαμιὰς, by a Metaphor from the hole of a Boat, where they put out the Oars.

The *Colour* moſt in uſe upon their Arms, Clothes, or Creſts, &c. was crimſon red, either to make themſelves the leſs afraid, if they ſaw their bloud, being uſed to the colour; or elſe that the enemy might be the leſs able to perceive it, if they ſhould chance to be wounded. From the *Phœnician* colour, the *Lacedemonians* called their Coat (or Creſt, or what is it) φοινικίδα. In alluſion to whoſe *red bloudy* colour, the Poet in *Acharnenſes* ſpeaking of having a few beaten till the bloud came, thus expreſſes it,

Μὴ ἐ

Μὴ ἀ καλαξαίνειν ἢ ἄνδρα τοῦτον εἰς φοινικίδα.

Let's card him and work him and belabour him, till we make his skin like a φοινικίς.

To carry the *Proviſion* in, every man had his [r] γύλιον, or ὀλοσχίνω σταλιωτικῶ, a kind of *basket (fiſcinam)* made of Oziers (πλέγμα) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poet having uſed the word γύλιον, to ſignifie ſuch a thing, in the ſame Comedy uſes the word γυλιοωχένας, to ſignifie *men that had a neck as long as that thing.* Their ordinary proviſion was Cheeſe, and Olives, and Onions. Their quantity commonly ſo much as would ſerve for three days, according to that of the ſame Poet ſtill, and in the ſame Comedy, where ſpeaking againſt the troubleſome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in, *viz.*

[r] Ariſtoph. *in Pace.*

Ἐπιλυρεῖν τὰ σίτι ἡμερῶν τειῶν.

Thoſe too often repeated *Orders for three days proviſion.*

CAP. III.

De Armis quibus vim inferebant.

THE *Arms* or the *Weapons* they uſed to fight with, were in ancient time Clubs (uſed alſo for putting of Malefactours to death) called by [a] *Homer* φάλαγγες, according to that of *Horace,* [a] *Il. 4.*

Unguibus & pugnis, dein fuſtibus, atque ita porrò
Pugnabant armis quæ poſt fabricaverat uſus.

But afterwards they came to Spears, a Weapon ſo highly eſteemed, that ſome would not ſtick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Euſtathius:* ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ πῆξας εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀκόντιον θεὸν τοῦτο προσέταξεν ἀριθμεῖν. Where ἀριθμεῖν, ſome ſay ſignifies to worſhip, and ſo they ſay of the word *numerare,* uſed by *Cicero* in his Book *De Nat. Deorum. Novi ego Epicureos omnia ſigilla numerantes.* Thus it is reported of one *Pheræus Alexander* a Tyrant, that having killed his Unkle *Polyphron* with his Spear, he took it and crowned it with Garlands, and cauſed it to be adored by the name of

τυχὸν. One would have thought it ſufficiently honoured to be uſed by Kings inſtead of Scepters, as *Juſtin* ſaith it was; or at moſt to *have a place* in the Temple: or elſe to have been *dedicated* to a God, as *Plutarch* ſaith it was to *Pallas*, (becauſe of πάλλειν, the proper word for ἀκόντιον) and to be joyned to the Statue of the God: for ſo it commonly was among the Latins eſpecially, whence it came that *haſtæ motæ, ſpeaking of the Spears*, ſo often ſpoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted ſuch a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the reſpect they gave to them will ſufficiently appear, in the care they took of the keeping them. For while they ſlept in the Field they faſtned it ἐν σαυρωτῆρι, which *Pollux* interprets, the *butt-end* of the Spear, made (it may be) with a *croſs* for the better hold-faſt, *quaſi* σαυρωτῆρι from σαυρός. But *Euſtathius* ſaith it was an iron with a ſharp tail like a ſnake, to be ſet in the ground, and hollow head, to ſet the Spear in, from σαῦρος, *Lacerta*, a *Lizard*, which it reſembled. When they came home, they ſet it in a long wooden *caſe*, made of purpoſe, by a pillar of the houſe,

b *Odyſſ.* 1. b Ἔγχος μὲν ῥ' ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν
Δερδήκης ἔντοσθεν ἐυξόου.——

ſays *Homer*; and *Virgil* has the like,

c *Æn.* 12. c *Exin quæ mediis ingenti adnixa columnæ*
Ædibus aſtabat, validam vi corripit haſtam.

The cuſtome firſt πάλλειν to *vibrate* the Spear before they uſed it, to try the ſtrength of it, was ſo conſtantly kept, that ἐγχέσπαλος, a *ſhake-ſpear*, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and other Poets to ſignifie a *Souldier*. When the Greeks began the uſe of Bows, I know not: but it ſeems they had ſuch things; and *Heſychius* in the word ἰπνία, ſays they made the *ſtrings* of *Horſes hair*. Swords likewiſe they had, which they uſed to hang by their

d Σχ. on *Il.* γ'. ſides, d διὰ παλαμάων by *belts*, or ſtrings of leather, as they did the Shields: and the ſtrings came over the ſhoulders as ours do,

* Heſiod. * Ὁμοίη δέ μιν ἀμφὶ μελαίνετον ὦος ἔκειτο.

What

What other offenſive Arms they had I know not. But the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban War, they excelled moſt in the *defenſive*, and that the Barbarians were better at the offenſive.

CAP. IV.

De ritu excipiendi Legatos, indicendi Bellum, conſulendi Deos, obſervandi Dies, & trajiciendi Fluvios.

AS carefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike Affairs, I cannot find but that they did *properè ſequi quæ piget inchoare*, *bear* a greater affection to *Peace:* as may appear in their honourable receiving of Embaſſadours, to whom they gave *hearing* in no worſe place than a *Temple*; [a] and their *entertainment* in the *Prytaneum*. The uſual enſign carried by Greek Embaſſadours, was κηρύκιον, *caduceus*, a *right ſtaff* of wood with ſnakes twiſted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whether this was to affright them from diſcord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpent's Teeth* (a ſeed of diſſention ſometime ſown by *Cadmus* among *Draco*'s Friends) 'tis but τοξάζεσθαι, my *conjecture*, and a bolt perhaps too *ſoon ſhot* to hit the mark. An Embaſſadours allowance, was two δραχμαὶ a day, which they uſually called [b] τὸ πρεσβεῖον. If the Peace could not be *kept*, but they muſt needs have War, yet they would be ſure to give warning, and fair play, and make Proclamations of their intentions, before they marcht. [c] The manner in proclaiming War, was to ſend a fellow of purpoſe, either to caſt a Spear, or let looſe a Lamb into the borders of the Countrey, or into the City it ſelf, whither they were marching (which *Heſychius* rather thinks to have been the ſignal before a Battel) thereby ſhewing them [d] μηλόβοτον αὐτῶν τὴν ἐσομένην καὶ τὴν Πόλιν, that what was then a habitation for *men*, ſhould be ſhortly a paſture for *ſheep*, and what was then paſture for their *own* ſheep, ſhould be ſhortly turned to the uſe of their *enemies*. Before they ſet forward upon a March, you will not

[a] Demoſt. περὶ παραπρεσβ.

[b] *Etym.*

[c] Σχ. Homer *in Batrochom.*

[d] Diogenian.

not think how exact they were in preparation; considering, and examining whether it were convenient or not; the Gods must be sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners sought to, and all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City searcht into: for this course the * Tragedian makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of *Athens*, upon the coming of *Euristheus*. Then besides this, after the manner of other Nations, Jewish, Latin, and Persian, they used to vow one thing or other to be devoted and consecrated to the Gods in case they prevailed: such as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other Vows of the like price. Nay the *Athenians* were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the Gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the *Lacedemonians*.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *days*. For as the *Lacedemonians* thought it not good to march ἐνὸς παυσελήνης, till the *full* of the Moon: so neither did they think it lucky either to march [f] ἐνὸς ἑβδόμης, till the *seventh* day of the Month, or to make any Commanders till the *new* of the Moon. In marching, the General used always, [g] ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δέξιον, *to keep himself on the right horn, or wing*. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ ὁπλότεροι) kept themselves ἐν ταῖς μέσαις ταῖς ἀκινδύνοις, *in those parts*, or those *Corpora* (as the Romans called them) which were less in danger, such kind of service was from thence called σφαλεία ἐν ταῖς μέσαις, and sometimes περιφρεία. When they came to a River, before they went over they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called θύειν τὰ διαβατήρια. No passing without a prayer,

[h] —— πρίν γ' εὔξῃ ἰδὼν ἐς κρήνην ῥεέθρα.

The Romans always observed the like custome, when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action, [i] *Peremnè auspicari*.

* Πόλις τ' ἐν ὅπλοις σφάγιά θ' ἡτοιμασμένα
Ἔσωσεν, οἷς χρὴ ταῦτα τιμᾶσθαι θεῶν,
Συνῳκίσατο δ' ἄξυ μάντεων ὑπὸ
Τερπτῶν τ' ἐχθρῶν, καὶ πόλει σωτήρια,
Χρησμῶν θ' ἃ πάντας εἰς ἓν ἁλίσας
Ἤλεγξα καὶ βύβλα καὶ κεκρυμμένα
Λόγια παλαιὰ τῇ ὑπ' ὀνῇ σωθήσεται.

[f] Σχ. Aristoph. *in Eq.*

[g] Suidas.

[h] Hesiod. *l.* 2.

[i] Festus.

CAP.

CAP. V.

De ritu Committendi prælium, & de uſu Tubarum.

WHen they fought a Battel, after they had killed a *Victime* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches:* for πυρφόροι ἀντὶ σαλπιγκτῶν, inſtead of ſounding a Trumpet, they had fellows whom they called πυρφόρους, that went before with Torches, and throwing them down in the midſt between the two Armies gave the ſign,

[a] *Prima manu rutilam de vertice Lariſſæo*
Obtrudit Bellona facem.

[a] Statius *Th.* 4.

Lycophron in his ἐχθρᾶς ὄ πυρσὸν, and *Pindar* in ὕμνων πυρσὸν ſeem to allude to this *incentive* or *incendiary.* Now this buſineſs they might doe ſafely, and without any danger, ἀνεχόμενοι ἀκινδύνοι. For the *Torch-bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars,* and accounted *ſacred,* * ἱεροὶ γὰρ θεοῦ· inſomuch that it became a Proverb, when any Army was totally defeated, ἁλὲ ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη. Thoſe *Torches Euripides in Rheſus* calls πυρὸς λαμπτῆρας, where he ſays that the *Achivi avoided* them, that is, refuſed the fight,

* Σχ. *in* Eurip. *Phœn.* Ἐσωζόνλο ὄ οἱ πυρφόροι ἢ ὃ πάντες ἀπώλοντο.

—— πυρὸς λαμπτῆρας ἐξήρθης κλύων
Φεύγειν Ἀχαιούς.

Qui elatus es, audiens faces
Fugere Achivos.

(better in my mind than *Qui audiens ignis faces accenſas adductus eſt, ut credat fugere, &c.)* Nay, not onely when they would ſignifie their intentions to *fight* with the enemy, *to the enemy himſelf:* but alſo when they would ſignifie his approach to *others,* to have their aſſiſtence, they made uſe of Torches too, which they called [b] φρυκτούς. The word is rendred *Faces,* and you may render it *Brands,* or *Beacons* if you will, for they are made of dry wood, or ſticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. And they had men ſtill who did φρυκλωρεῖν *keep* φρυκλωρίαν, *Watches* in the [c] Towers or Forts, as we do at the Beacons. If the enemy came in the night, they fired the Brands, if he came by day,

[b] Σχ. *in* Homer. *Il.* σ'.

[c] Καὶ φρυκλωρεῖαι ἐν τοῖσι πύργοις, Ariſtoph. *in Avib.*

day, they raiſed a ſmoke. But I muſt tell you, there were Φίλιοι φρυκτοὶ, Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of their friends too, as well as Πολέμιοι. But with this diſtinction, that Φίλιοι were held, or let lye ſtill: but the Πολέμιοι were toſſed and ſhaken to and fro.

But thoſe Torches laſted not always. For afterwards they came to make uſe of Trumpets, according to that of [d] *Æſchylus*,

Σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ παντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέρλεγεν.

In or *accendit* ſtill, perhaps in a metaphor from the fire of the *Torches* once in uſe. The firſt invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiaſt upon * *Euripides* to the *Tyrrheni*, from whom it is conceived to have been firſt brought into *Greeee* by one *Archidas* an aſſiſtent to the *Heraclidæ*, as the ſame Scholiaſt reports in the ſame place, [f] φασὶ δ' Ἀρχίδας συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἦλθε τὴν τυρσηνικὴν σάλπιγγα εἰς Ἕλληνας. And therefore he calls the Trumpet τυρσηνικὴν, *viz.* from the inventers; as the Poet himſelf had done before, both in his *Phœniſſa*, and his *Heraclida*, where he ſays it was uſed when they joyned Battel, and that then it ſounded [g] ὄρθιον, a *long blaſt*, like that in the Book of *Judges* (but of this word I have ſpoken before.) There was a time when Shells did ſerve for Trumpets *conchæque ſonantes*: and then you might eaſily conſtrue that riddle of *Theognis*,

[h] Ἦδη γάρ με κέκληκε θαλάσσης οἰκάδε νεκρὸς,
Τεθνηκὼς ζωῷ φθεγγόμενος στόμασι.

[d] *In Perſis.*

[*] *In Phœn.*

[f] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσήμηνε τὸ ὄρθιον πυρσηνικῇ Σάλπιγγι, ἣ σωῆλαν ἀνδρείοις μάχῃ, v. 830.

[g] *C.* 6. 5.

[h] Theogn. *ult.*

CAP. VI.

De Scytale, de Militum pœnis & præmiis & ſepultura.

IF it went well with the Army in the fight, the meſſenger that was ſent with the news was adorned with [a] Garlands. In the mean time thoſe that were at home and continually lookt for news, uſed to ſacrifice to the Gods in the ways, [b] Ὡς ἂν εἰ ἀγαθὰ εἴεν, ὑπανδόσειαν ταύτῃσι, ἂν δ' τέναντίον, ὑπεκφύγειαν, *If it were good, to bring it along the way to them, if not, to be there in the way and ſtop it.* For cloſe conveying of the intelligence I ſup-

[a] Ἐπεὶ καλαστεφῆ στίχον θ' ὁρᾷ, *&c.* Soph. *Trach.*

[b] Σχ. *in* Ariſtoph. *Eq.*

I ſuppoſe they had ſeveral ways. Whether they made uſe of the *Lacedemonians* Σκυτάλαι, I know not. If you pleaſe, you may reade the deſcription thereof in [c] *A. Gellius* at full: or in the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in his *Aves*. Where he ſays, that they made them two ſtaves or rods ἰσομήκεις, *of a length*, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carried by the General along with him. When they meant to ſend him any private meſſage, they took a piece of a σκύτος, *a skin*, or parchment, and wrote upon it, ſo as it could not be underſtood, unleſs it were rolled upon thoſe ſtaves, and the parchment and the ſtaff one applied to the other. This *Lacedemonian* trick (as it ſeems by the Poet, whether he ſpake in jeſt or in earneſt, I cannot tell) was imitated by the *Athenians*, among a great many other things, out of a *Laconomany*, as he terms it, or a humour like that of the *Engliſh* towards the *French*.

[c] *L. 17. c. 9.*

Ἐλακωνομάνυν πάντες ἄνθρωποι τότε
Σκυτάλαι ἐτόρυν.

If any one turned αὐτομόλος, *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he ſuffered death. If he had been ἀσεβήσας, and *would* not, or δειλός, and *could* not fight for fear, or if [d] λελοιπὼς τὴν τάξιν, or ῥίψασπις, he had *left his rank* or *thrown down* his *Arms*, he was regiſtred and delivered to the *Heliaſtæ* to be puniſhed as they pleaſed, and not to come to the Temples, till he had ſatisfied juſtice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward,

[d] *Vid. ſupr. Æſchines contra Cteſiph.*

* Οὐχ ὅστις ἂν γὰ ζῶνθ' ἕλωσιν ἐν μάχῃ. * Eurip. *Heracl. v.* 966.

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two ὀβολοὶ, ſays *Heſychius*: (but *one* ſays *Harpocration*) every day out of the publick Treaſury: but firſt they were to be examined by the Parliament of *five hundred*, whether they were [f] ἀδύνατοι· now ἀδύνατοι were οἱ ἐλλὸς τελῶν μνῶν κεκλημένοι, ſays *Harpocration*, thoſe whoſe eſtates came not to ſo much as three *minæ*. Such as were *ſlain*, their Children were maintained out of the publick Treaſure, till they came to be twenty years old, and then they had a Πανοπλίαν, a *Suit of Arms* beſtowed upon them, ἀναμιμνήσκουσαι τὰ τῶν πάλαι ἐπιτηδεύματα, *to put them in mind of their fathers exploits*, and to keep them

[f] *Vid. Supr.*

from degenerating. They had the honour also [g] προεδρίαν, of having the foremost seat at *Shews*. If they buried the party slain in the same place (as they did all at *Marathon* fight) the fashion was then to make a shield his *Bier*, as 'twas before to make it his *Cradle*, according to those words of the *Lacedemonian Virago* to her Son, as she was helping on his shield, ἢ τὸν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ, *either do thou bring the shield home again, or let the shield bring* [h] *thee*; nay and to make it his Coffin too sometimes, as it seems by the saying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Astyanax*,

Ἀλλ' ἀντὶ κέδρου, προβόλων τε λαΐνων
Ἐν τῇ ὑ θαλὰς παῖδα.

[g] Plato.

[h] *Arma superveheris quid, Thrasibule, tua?* Auson. *Epig.* 24.

At the burial, the rest of his company marched in equipage thrice about the *Pyra*, shaking their Arms and throwing their Swords, Bridles, Belts, or one thing or other, into the fire or the grave after him. But for the most part they were allowed a publick burial upon the common charge, at home in the *Ceramicus* all together. And then three days before the burial, the Bones being laid up in Tents, upon the burial day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypress wood, and carrying away each one their Bones, [i] put them in the ground with several pillars and inscriptions, and one solemn Speech for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed to have their Arms in their Shields, or else placed in the ἄντυ, and honoured with the name of *Cecropidæ*, *Citizens of the true old blood*: according to that,

[i] Thucid. *l.* 3.

[k] Οὐ καλλινίκους Κεκροπίδας ἔθηκ' ἐγώ.

[k] Eurip. *in Phœn.*

Sometimes such as had the *first fruits* (or the *prime*) of the Spoils, were adorned with a golden στέφανος,

[l] Καὶ τόνδε χρυσοῦν στέφανον ὡς ὁρᾷς ἔχω
Λαῶν ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων σκυλευμάτων.

[l] *Ibid.*

CAP. VII.

De Trophæis.

FOR *memorials* of the Victory, ἀνίστασθαι τρόπαια, *they erected Trophies*: (you may write τροπαῖα, if you had rather follow

follow the moſt [a] ancient, than that which is neweſt in faſhion.) Trophies were uſually *pillars* of Braſs, or Stone, or Wood. And the Wood ſometimes *Olive* (τὰ τρόπαια ὅτι τότε οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀνέθηκαν, ſays *Dionyſius*) and ſometimes the trunk of an *Oak*,

[a] Οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ τροπαιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι τροπαιοῦσι. Σχ. in Ariſtoph. *Plut.*

— *Quercuſque Trophæis*
Curva tremens —

Thoſe Pillars among *them* anſwered to the *Arcus Triumphalis* among the Latins. Onely *that* might be overthrown; but *theſe* might neither be taken away, nor reſtored again, if conſumed with age or the like, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ καινοποιεῖν ὑπώδυνόν ἐστι καὶ φιλαπέχθημον, leſt they *ſhould thereby rub up the old ſore and revive the grudge with their enemies.* [b] And therefore ſays the ſame Authour, ὅθεν παρ' Ἕλλησιν οἱ χαλκοῦν στήσαντες τρόπαιον ἐυδόκιμοι, *thoſe that made them Trophies of braſs, were lookt upon as contentious men, and haters of Amneſty.* Now upon the Trophy, they engraved an ὑπόγραμμα, declaring the cauſe of the War and the manner of the Victory: ſuch a one as [c] *Othryades* wrote with the bloud of the *Argivi.* The like *Inſcriptions* many times were written upon other things. For *Pauſanias* having conquered *Mardonius* at *Platæa*, did not onely at *Byzantium* write upon the *Cup*, which he conſecrated to the Gods of the place, (as *Athenæus* reports to his diſpraiſe for his arrogance) but alſo upon a *Tripus* beſides, which he cauſed to be made of Gold and ſent to *Delphos*, with this Inſcription,

[b] Plut. *in Roman.*

[c] Stobæus *de Fortuna.*

[d] Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

[d] Thucid. *l.* 1.

Wherewith the *Lacedemonians* being diſpleaſed blotted it clean out, and inſtead thereof, engraved the names onely of thoſe Cities, by whoſe help they obtained the Victory. And ſo when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they cauſed an Inſcription to be ſet up in the Vault called * Ποικίλη.

* Ἑλλήνων στρατηγὸς μαχησάμενος Ἀθηναίοις Μακεδόνα Ἐκτειναν.

In *Cicero*'s [f] time (it ſeems) the cuſtome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he ſays, that the *Thebans* were accuſed for erecting a Trophy over the *Lacedemonians.* But inſtead of them, they erected ſometimes Altars, as *Alexander*

[f] *In* Piſon.

lexander did upon the hill *Amanus*) and sometimes Images to *Jupiter* τρέπαιος (so called from causing the enemy τρέπεσθαι *to turn their backs*: as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, the causing their own Souldiers to *stand* to their ground) such a one as *Hyllus* and ἐσθλὸς (as I told you before of κακὸς) *good or valiant Iolaus* erected,

[g] Eurip. *in Heracl.* v. 937.

—— ἓ βρέτας Διὸς τροπαῖα καλλίνικον ἔστησαν.

The *Spoils* which they took (σκῦλα from the dead, and λάφυρα from the *living*) they usually dedicated to the Gods, and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was ἀκροθίνια, *quasi* ἀκροσίνια, says *Eustathius*, as if it were παρὰ τὸ σίνεσθαι ἐν μάχῃ πολλὰς· the same name which they gave to those goods, which the Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwreck (onely that then there is a new Etymology, *viz.* ἀπὸ θινὸς, *à litore*, ἀπαρχὰς ἀναπεμπόμενοι ἐξ ἐμπορείας διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ θινὸς σωθῆναι, *because the things were saved from being cast on shore.*) But I rather incline to the Scholiast upon *Sophocles Trachiniæ*, who says those ἀπαρχαὶ, or the *first fruits of the spoils* which they sacrificed to the Gods were called ἀκροθίνια, because they used to lay the Spoils, which they had taken together on a heap, and then ἀπ' ἄκρου τὸ θινὸς, they skimm'd away the *Cream*, as I may say, or the *Crop*, or the *Choice* to be given back for the Gods that gave them. In allusion whereunto *Megara* in *Euripides*, speaking what choice of Wives she had made for her Sons out of *Athens*, *Thebes* and *Sparta*, expresses it thus,

Ἐγὼ δ' νύμφας ἠκροθινιαζόμην.

The Arms which they took, ἀνέθεντο they *hung up* for the most part in their Temples (and sometimes in their own [h] houses) as they did their *own*, when they left the service, as *Horace* says, *Lib.* 1. *Epist.* 1.

[a] Νέης ἀναθήματα νίκης Ἀσπίδες ἢ πήληκες ἐπικρεμάωντο μελάθρῳ.

——*Veianius, armis*
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.

[i] Τρόπαι' ἱδρύεται παιδὶ χάλαν ἔχουσα πλεμίωνι——. Eurip. *Heracl.* v. 786.

Some of the Spoils they hung upon the Trophies, but *wrote* them [i] all. For that was the custome, τὰ σκῦλα τοῖς τροπαίοις ἐγγράφεσθαι, says the [k] Scholiast.

[k] *In Phœniss.* Eur.

LIBER

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

SECT. I.

De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem, & somniantem.

THERE were not many things in use among the Jews, the people of God, which the Gentiles, *imitatorum pecus*, do not seem to have imitated, and so *vicè versâ*. Such as the *Prophets* were among them, such were the *Magi* among the *Persians*, the *Chaldæi* among the *Assyrians*, *Gymnosophists* among the *Indians*, the *Galleotæ* among the *Sicilians*, and the *Hetrusci* among the *Italians*. Neither was the *honour* or *credit* of *Divination* less than the *use*. For if we may believe [a] *Strabo*, Οἱ ὃ Μάντεις ἐτιμῶντο ὥστε καὶ Βασιλείας ἀξιοῦσθαι, *many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings*: To a *Persian* King it was *necessary*, to any other *convenient*. *Amphilochus* and *Mopsus* Kings of the *Argivi* were *Augurs* too. *Helenus* and *Cassandra* Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sibyll*. But to a *Physician*, it was reckoned so necessary, that *Æschylus* has used Ἰατρὸς, a *Physician*, and Μάντις, a *Prophet*, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in the time of the Pestilence, to seek to Μαντικὴν for a cure. The Scholiast upon *Homer* speaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Professions. Credit it had among the best Philosophers (especially that of Dreams, and *Enthusiasms*) maintained by *Plato* and the *Socraticks*, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Aristotle* and the *Peripateticks*. *Pythagoras* indeed was against *extispicina*, Divination by Entrals; and onely *Epicurus* against that and all the rest.

[a] *L.* 16.

Predic-

Prediction of things to come, was either from *Men*, called Μαντεία: or from the *Gods*, properly called Χρησμὸς, *an Oracle*. According to that of the [b] Scholiast upon *Sophocles*, Χρησμὸς μὲν ὁ παρὰ θεῶν, Μαντεία παρ' ἀνθρώπων. Indeed Μαντεία seems to be the *genus*, and Χρησμὸς the *species*. The same Prophecy which when it was spoken by a God, was a Χρησμὸς, when it was delivered by [c] Men was Μαντεία. In the *Oracles* the word was *Fari (neque me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet)* whereas in the *other* it could be but *præsagire* at the wisest. The faculty in the first ἡ μαντικὴ (as we now call it, [d] ἀπειροκάλως τὸ τ' ἐμβαλόντες) or ἡ μανικὴ, as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tiresias* said, χὴ τὸ μανιῶδες πολλὼ μαντικλὼ ἔχει) is divided by *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, in τεχνικὴν, *artificiosam*, that which is acquired by observation and experience, *observatis longo tempore significationibus, &c.* And secondly, [*] Ἄτεχνον, or ἀδίδακτον, *naturalem*, for which we take little or no pains. These two *species* are said to be ὁ θεσπωδὸς δίδυμος μαντοσύνας, the *twins*, or double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Janus* his Son, and to his Family after him. The natural or infused faculty of Divination, most properly called Μαντικὴ, proceeded first, *à motu furente*, from a *Frantick motion*. Which though they took it for a help to Prophesie; yet it seems rather to have been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, *c.* 44. *v.* 25. Said he would *make their diviners mad*. And *Cicero* himself says 'tis very strange, *Ut qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos assecutus sit, That he that hath lost his own sense, should be able to know the sense of the Gods*. Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick Speeches of dying men: such as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of six men that were of the same age, which should be first, and which next, and so along: Or else it proceeded *à motu somnianti*, from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it ὀνειροκριτικὸν, which because it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a stone *tumbling down the hill*.

The first kind coming by *Euthusiasm* or Inspiration, was either of less authority; such as *Cassandra* had, or *Polybius* Prophe-

[b] *In Oed. Tyr.*

[c] Ennius.

[d] Plato.

[*] Eurip. *in Bacc.* 299.

Propheſying his Son's death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny. Or elſe of greater, ſo as to command a belief: ſuch as the *Sibyll* Women had; or the *Pythia Wench*, who delivered the Oracles; which was nothing but a cunning trick, *à vafris quibuſdam & quæſtuariis inchoatum*, invented for gain. The difference between thoſe two Prophets conſiſted in this, that [f] *Terræ vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturæ Sibyllam, Pythia had it inſpired or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibylls had it by nature.* Now, becauſe the number of Oracles, and the ſuperſtition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens* than in any other part of the world, it may not be amiſs to ſpeak ſomewhat of the moſt noted of them, *viz. Pythium, Dodonæum* and *Jupiter Hammon*'s.

[f] Cic. *l.* 1. *de Divin.*

CAP. I.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE moſt noted of the three Oracles was the firſt. It was called *Pythium*, for the ſame reaſon that the Woman was called *Pythia*, *i. e.* either from *Python* the Serpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came, afterward killed by *Apollo*, who poſſeſſed the place by conqueſt; or from *Pytho* another name of *Delphos* the place of this Oracle, which came from *Pythus* the Son of *Delphus*, the Son of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to diſtribute Oracles to all the body of *Greece*, as the *Navel* is to diſtribute nouriſhment to the body of a Child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it μεσόμφαλον Μαντεῖον, becauſe it was Ὀμφαλὸς, the *Navel*, or *Umbilicus* the midſt of *Greece*, (ſays *Strabo*) and not of the *World*, as *Ovid* would have it, *Orbe in medio poſiti*. And this they came to know forſooth, by the two *Eagles* (ſays *Pindar*, *Crows* ſay ſome, and others *Swans*) which being let fly by *Jupiter*, met both in that place. Nay in alluſion to that name of Ὀμφαλὸς (by which it was commonly called) *Pauſanias* ſays there was to be ſeen in the Temple a Navel made of white ſtone, with a Riband hanging to it for the Navel

Navel ſtring. But *Lactantius* had rather derive it from Ὀμφὴ, the *Oracle*. And *Varro* would by no means yield to have it derived from the Navel, *Quoniam neque locus is ſit terrarum medius, neque umbilicus ſit in homine medius.* But the latter reaſon is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one elſe. The firſt beginner of the Oracle (ſome ſay) was *Tellus*, προφητικὴ γαῖα, and ſome *Themis*,

Ἡ πρώτη καθέδρην ἔσχε βροτείης μαντήϊον ἀγλαόν.

The firſt beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, coming to a den very large below, with a little mouth at the top, and looking in, on a ſudden fell a-leaping and making a ſtrange noiſe. He that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) ſeeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the ſame frolick; but propheſied too. And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the ſame purpoſe. Nay a great many, with the *breath* ἄτμα δαιμόνιον, or *anhelitus terræ* (as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth, *expired*. Inſomuch that afterward they ſet a *Three-footed ſtool* upon the hole, and a Maid upon it conſecrated for a Prieſteſs, whoſe common name was *Pythia*, and her *Office* to put the Oracle into Verſe and deliver it out. For (ſays *Plutarch*) *the words are hers, onely Apollo,* Τὰς φαντασίας παρίστησι· καὶ φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ περὶ τὸ μέλλον, ſate in under blowing with the bellows to ſet her *a-peeping* or *a-whiſpering*, like thoſe מצפצפים in *Iſaiah*, c. 8. v. 19. Where he ſpeaks of ſuch ἐγγαστριμάνδεις, or *belly* Prophets that *peep* and *mutter*; ſuch as the *Pythia* was, out of whoſe belly the Devil ſpake his prophecies with a ſmall peeping voice like a Child's. But that Prophet in another place comes nearer to us, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voice ſhall be as one that hath a familiar ſpirit, out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall* * *whiſper out of the duſt.* Now ſome ſay the *Tripus* whereof I ſpake was a pot filled with *duſt*, thorough which the *afflatus*, the wicked *inſpiration* was to paſs into the belly of the Wench, and ſo to go forth at her mouth for an Oracle. And therefore it is that thoſe Prophets, which in thoſe times had

*As I have heard he lately did in a poſſeſſed Chriſtian in the Town of *Barwick*. *Ch.* 29. *v.* 4.

had a familiar ſpirit within them, were commonly called by the name of [a] Ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, and Στιγνομάντεις, as well as Πύθωνες, and [b] Εὐρυκλεῖς. The manner of her ſitting, &c. when ſhe took the ſpirit in, becauſe it may not ſo fitly be expreſſed in Engliſh, I deſire to give you in the words of the [c] Scholiaſt, Ἐπιλαμβάνῃ τοῦ τείποδος καὶ διαῤῥῆσσα τὰ σπλάγχνα πυνθάνεται τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς ἐδέχετο μορίων, καὶ τὰς τρίχας λύσασα, καὶ ἀφρὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος πίμπρασα καὶ μαίνασα, τὰς μαντείας ἢ μᾶλλον μανίας ἐπεφήμιζε. She was no ſooner inſpired, but ſhe fell a-tearing her hair, and running round, foaming at the mouth, and cutting her fleſh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus ſpeaks of their geſtures. *Sectis namque humeris & utraque manu diſtrictos gladios exerentes currunt, efferantur, inſaniunt.* But this peeping may not make me prepoſterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripus*. The firſt Maid's name that propheſied in that place, was *Phænomene*. All the reſt were young Virgins, as ſhe was, till *Echecrates*, a *Theſſalian*, defloured *Phœbas*, and then they made choice of Women of fifty years of age, but made them go in the habit of a Virgin. The [d] cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they went to *ſtool*, to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their hair in the Fountain *Caſtalius* (where the Poets, a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too were uſed to waſh) κόμας ἐμὰς λοῦσα. When they ſate firſt on the ſtool, they uſed to ſhake * the Laurel-tree, that grew cloſe by the *Tripus*, and ſometimes to take the leaves and chew in their mouths, as *Lucian* ſays, μασπαίρων δάφνην, for ſo other ſuch Women uſed to doe, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Caſſandra* λαιμὸν δαφνηφάγον.

[a] Plutarch *de Orac. defec.*
[b] And *Euryclide* from *Eurycles* a Prophet of that name.
[c] Ariſtoph. *in Avib.*
[d] Σχ. *on* Eurip. *Phœn.*
* Σχ. *on* Ariſtoph.

The firſt that came to receive an Oracle from them was *Parnaſſus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnaſſus*, from Λάρναξ, *Deucalion*'s *Ark* that reſted there; *fides penes autorem*. As for *Tripus* (called by the Latins *Cortina*, whence *Cortinipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the *Cover*, *Tripodes Cortina tegit*) it is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Lyſiſtrate* to have been Φιάλη, a *Pot* (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſs, but filled with λίθοι, or

 calculi,

calculi, *cuts* or Lottery pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the pot, (ἅλλονλο) or leapt and danced in it, when any one came to ask, according to the ſignification they bare, made up the anſwer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three legs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a Table-bord called ὅλμος, (as the Table-bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called ἔνολμος, and his Wench ἔνολμις.

I wonder that ever people could ſo much *looſe themſelves*, as to go to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſs in a greater queſtion by the anſwer, and make them more to ſeek, than they were before; but that they were reſolved to be fooled, becauſe forſooth *Apollo* is λοξὸς, *crooked* there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he muſt παραδίζειν, be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his *gate*. 'Tis his uſe,

[f] Senec. *Oed. Act.* 2. *Sc.* 1.

[f] *Ambage nexâ Delphico mos eſt Deo*
Arcana tegere.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon *Æſchylus*, οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀπορρήτου αἰνίγμασι γεγράφασι, *in ancient time they made their verſes in riddles.* Now the Oracles were delivered commonly in Verſe, as he ſays,

—*dictæ per Carmina Sortes.*

For *Sortes* they uſually called them, and the Verſe for the moſt part was *Hexameter*, inſomuch that this Oracle,

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης,
Ἀνδρῶν δ' πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

was thought to be none of *Pythia*'s, becauſe it was not *heroick* enough to become the Authour. [g] *Plutarch* ſays ſome were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpoſe in the Oracle place, μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς οἷον ἀγγεῖα τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἐκπαλέοντες, *to catch the Oracles as they fell and wrap them up in Verſe.* But one reaſon why they delivered their Oracle in Verſe, or in brief, and ſo commonly in obſcurity, was, becauſe the God ἀφανίζειν μὲν οὐ θέλει τὸ κλεινὸς, not willing to conceal the truth altogether, nor yet deſirous to make it known, was fain to have it delivered in ſuch manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the ſpeaker, if the anſwer were

[g] *De Pythiæ Oracul.*

were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it *fell* to Proſe (when it began to fall in the price) and the reaſon thereof has been ſufficiently diſputed already by *Plutarch* in a Treatiſe of purpoſe.

The eſteem which they had of thoſe Oracles was ſuch, that in times of War, when no other Divination could prevail, it was an ordinary thing to fain an [h] Oracle, to perſwade the Souldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tireſias* his mind, who though he were an *Entral-gazer* himſelf, yet in *Euripides* you ſhall have him confeſſing to *Creon*, that *men were ſo apt to ſpeak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for fear, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, beſides* Apollo's *own*;

——Φεῖσον ἀνθρώποις μόνον
Χρὴ θεσπιῳδεῖν ὃς Δίδυμα ἐνναίει.

[h] Polynæus, *l.* 2. 27.

And yet it is clear, that the Woman or ſome body elſe was naught, and *corrupted* very often. *Tully* when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *Nunquam illud Oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuiſſet, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, niſi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem eſſet experta*, afterward comes in with a *ſamdiu idem non fecit*: But indeed, *ſhe has not been thus along time.* Nay for three hundred years (I think) before *his* time *Demoſthenes* could complain ſhe did [i] φιλιππίζειν, flatter, and ſpeak, as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time ſhe was bribed by *Clyſthenes*, to perſwade the *Lacedemonians* to free the *Athenians* from the *Tyranny*: and another time by *Cleomenes*, to perſwade them to deprive his Collegue *Demaratus* of his place. Neither would *Lycophron* call *Apollo* Καρδῶον θεὸν for nothing.

[i] Plutarch. *de* Herodot.

But you will ſay ſome other body might play the knave, and put it upon her. And likely enough; For ſo *Cicero* thinks they did in that anſwer reported to be given by *Apollo* to *Pyrrhus*; [k] *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere poſſe.* And that, Firſt, Becauſe *Apollo* did not ſpeak in Latin. Secondly, Becauſe none of the Greek Writers mention any ſuch thing. And, Thirdly, Becauſe the Oracles were not given in Verſe in *Pyrrhus* his time.

[k] *L.* 2. *de Divin.*

CAP. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi ceſſatione.

ALL this while I have ſaid nothing of the Temple, for fear of ſaying too little. So famous and ſo rich as it was with the Gifts or Ἀναθήμαλα, of moſt of the Princes or people in the world; inſomuch that *Aphetoriæ opes*, ſo ſaid from Ἀφήτωρ the name of *Apollo*, who was *emiſſor Oraculorum*, hath been uſed as a Proverb for *abundance of wealth*. I have read of *five* Temples erected in the ſame place at ſeveral times. The firſt was of Laurel-boughs fetcht from *Tempe Fields*. The ſecond of *Wax* and *Feathers*, or elſe feigned to be made ἐκ πτερῶν, *of wings*, becauſe the man's name was *Pteras* that built it. The third of Braſs (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minervæ* Χαλκιοίκου.) This, ſome ſay, was molten to the ground; others, that it was ſwallowed up by an Earthquake. The fourth of Stone, [a] deſtroyed by fire the firſt year of the fifth *Olympiad*. The fifth, built by the *Amphictions* out of the holy Treaſure, in a very ſteep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be ſaid concerning the Temple, and the E. I. in the Frontiſpiece, the reaſon whereof is diſputed by [b] *Plutarch*, but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Cuſtoms, which the *Athenians* (the devouteſt Servants of *Apollo*) uſed in ſending to him; either to *Delphos*, or to *Delos*, to doe him honour, or to ask his advice. The occaſion of ſending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing ſome arduous affairs; or for delivery from ſickneſs, or the like. When they went thither, they were ſaid ἀναβαίνειν, when they returned again καταβαίνειν. The Ceremonies uſed in ſending Embaſſies *extraordinary* to *Delphos*, were near the ſame with thoſe that were *ordinarily* uſed in the *Delia-feaſt* once a year, and they were theſe. Thoſe that were ſent were called ſometimes Δηλιασταὶ, from the Feaſt; ſometimes Θεωροὶ (like Hebrew *Seers*) a name ſuitable to that of *Apollo* Σκοπὸς in *Pindar* (*Pyth. γ'.*) which ſome

[a] Pauſan. *in Phoc.*

[b] Περὶ τῦ E. I. τῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς.

ſome notwithſtanding interpret to be *Index*, or his *Angel* the *Crow*. He that had the ordering of the buſineſs was called Ἀρχιθέωρος. There were alſo ſent along with them Κήρυκ& Μουσικοὶ, two that were to be παράσιτοι, or *Epulones* at *Delos* for that year. The Ship in which they went, was firſt to be adorned with Garlands by the Prieſt of *Apollo*, and ſo were the meſſengers too on the [c] head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ θυμοειδὲς & τειμερὲς ψυχῆς, in alluſion *to the three parts of the ſoul*. The Ship was likewiſe called θεωρὶς, and ſometimes δικαία. It was wont to be *Theſeus* his, in which the Boys were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at ſuch time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he inſtituted the plays, and the ſolemnity celebrated by the aforeſaid *Deliaſtæ*, when they came to *Delos*. This very Ship the *Athenians* kept for his ſake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, Ὥστε καὶ τῆς φιλοσόφοις ἐκ τῆς αὐξανομένων λόγον ἀμυδρὲμενον παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον εἶναι φησὶ μὲ ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, φησὶ δ ὡς ὁ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένει λεγόντων, *Inſomuch* (ſays *Plutarch*) *that Philoſophers uſe to illuſtrate that opinion, that the body remains ſtill the ſame notwithſtanding the continual decay, by this ſimilitude.* Beſides this, [d] there were four more *naves ſacræ*, *viz.* the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were *ſent* for the keeping of the Feaſt and the Sacrifice, were called πομπεῖα. For when they came thither, firſt they * Sacrificed: and then the Maids ſent thither from ſeveral places, fell a-dancing a ſtrange kind of dance about the Altar, which they called Γέρανον, *Gruem*, the *Crane*: wherein, their motions being crooked like the Cranes neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings and windings of the *Minotaur*'s Labyrinth, beating the Altar, and biting at a buſh of Olives, with their hands behind them (as our Boys do at *ſnap-apple*) if ſo much be imported in the words of [f] *Callimachus*,

Πεὶν μέγας ἠὶ σῖο βωμὸν ἀνὸ πλαγῶσιν ἑλίξαι,
Ῥηνόμβοιο καὶ πρέμνον ὀδαιδάσαι ἀγλὸν ἐλαίης
Χείρας ὀπιστοφάλαιες, &c.

The Altar was Κεραῖνο βωμὸς, and therefore called Κεραὼν, becauſe it was made by *Apollo* at four years old, of the *Horns* of the Goats, which his Siſter *Diana* kill'd a-hunting upon

[c] Ξανθὰ δ' ἐφ' ἁβρὸν φάιδιμοι δέρτρη καθύπερθε μίτρη. Apollonius, *l.* 2. *Argon.*

[d] Thucid. *l.* 5.

* Ἐμπύεσις τεκμαιρόμενοι. *apud* Pind. *Olym.* H.

[f] *Hymn. in Del.*

upon *Cynthius* hill. The horns were all of the left side, saith *Plut. in Theseo.* And yet in his Book *de Solertia Animalium*, 'tis πᾶν δεξιῶν. Whether it should be rendred of the right *side*, or *right*, that is fit or handsome, I know not. But so strangely were these horns joyned together without any cement, glue, or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the *seven strange sights*, Ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ καλουμένοις θαύμασι, as *Ovid* says,

Miror & innumeris structam de cornibus aram.

During all these holy days no Malefactour was to suffer punishment. By which means *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty days, ἕως ἂν ἡ θεωρία ἐκ Δήλου ἐπανέλθῃ, saith *Xenophon.* When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ran all forth to meet them, opening their doors, and making obeisance as they passed by, which made him complain so in [g] *Euripides*,

[g] *In Hippol.*

Οὐ γάρ τις μ' ὡς θεωρὸν ἀξιοῖ δομῶν
Πύλας ἀνοίξας εὐτρόπους προσστνέπειν.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to cease, is uncertain: Some say, *Alexander* put it down. But it appears to have flourished after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceased as soon as men had wit enough to advise themselves, without seeking to him that made it his business to cozen them. *Dion* says, it was *Nero* murthered the men at the hole. When it left *Delphos* it went to the [h] *Hyperborean Scythians:* for *Abaris* a *Scythian*, one of *Apollo*'s Priests, wrote a Book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The *Athenians* when all *Greece* was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vows and prayers in the name of the rest. And it was their fashion to send Gifts and Offerings thither, as they had done to *Delphos.* But what need we doubt of the time or the cause, since we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* asserts,

[h] *Pulcher Apollo Lustrat Hyperboreas Delphis cessantibus aras.* Claudian.

——*Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,*
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt sortibus antra.
Non Tripodas Cortina tegit, non spumat anhelus
Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores
Nec responsa refert Libycis in Syrtibus Ammon.

The

The Oracle place, (τὸ ἀνάκλιτον or χρηστήριον) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at first a kind of *School* for the Family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Devil to this delusion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almost inaccessible for *heat*, as that place at *Delphos* was for *height*. *Dodona*'s Grove is thought to have been such another *School*, *viz.* for the offspring of *Dodonaim*, Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a pair of Doves, that should come from *Ægypt*, one of which pitcht upon a Beech-tree in *Epirus*, and there using the voice of a man, among other good instructions, gave order for the building of a Temple in that place, which was done by *Deucalion* after his Ship came thither (while I speak of these things, I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Ark, and his Dove) besides the building of the City *Dodona*, nigh unto which this Oracle was. These two Oracles are reckoned the most *ancient* of all, and of these two, the last. [i] Τὸ γὰρ μαντεῖον τοῦτο νενόμιστο ἀρχαιότατον εἶναι ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστηρίων. And therefore a word or two more of it than I thought. It is conceived by most, that those *Doves* were certain Women Priests or Prophets, fetcht from *Ægypt* (the Mart of Superstition) by the *Phœnicians* first, and from them convey'd into *Thessaly*. Now in the *Thessalian* Language, the same word which signifies a Dove, is used also to signifie a Propheteſs, ἡ Πελειάς. [k] *Eustathius* says, that in the *Thessalian* Tongue *old Women* were called Πελειαὶ, and *old Men*, Πελεῖοι, and that those Propheteſſes being three old Women, whose names were *Promenia*, *Timarate* and *Nicandre*, either by mistake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly supposed to be Doves. The same Authour also says, that perhaps those Women being *Barbarians* (whom the *Greeks* would scarce allow to be Men and Women) for their rude brutish Language might have been counted as so many Birds. But it seems to have been no strange thing in ancient times, for Propheteſſes to have the name of Doves. And therefore *Lycophron* calls *Cassandra* by the name Φάσσαν, *Palumbes*: though in another place she have the name of a more tatling Bird, *viz.* Φοιβό-

[i] Herodot.

[k] *In Il.* ξ'.

λητος.

λιπαρὸν χελιδὼν, *the Swallow.* The Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachiniæ*) hath another conjecture more, beſides that which I named laſt, *viz.* That theſe Propheteſſes had the name of πελειάδες, or rather, if you will, the old Women, therefore had the name of πέλειαι, becauſe they were πεπολιωμέναι, gray-haired and aged.

Strabo ſpeaks of four Prieſts called Ἕλλοι ἀπὸ ἑλῶν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, from the *Fens* near the Temple, *viz.* of *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Tomurus*, which was a name common alſo to the Prieſts. *Homer* calls them Σελλοὶ, ſaying,

——— ἀμφὶ δ' Σελλοὶ
Ναίουσιν δ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπόδητες χαμαιεῦναι.

They uſed not to waſh their feet, and lay upon the ground when they ſlept.

When they gave anſwer, they got them amidſt the Boughs, and ſo the Oracle was thought to come from the Oaks, when it came but from *between* them. They are called πελειάδες δρύες, and μαντικαὶ δρύες, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the Timber *Lycophron* called [1] λάλητρον κίανον. Round about the Temple ſtood Baſons of Braſs, one juſt againſt the other παρακλίνων κειμένων, ſaith *Euſtathius*, of which if you ſtruck but one, all the reſt would cry, and make ſuch a noiſe, that at length *Æs Dodonæum* became a Proverb. Belike they uſed to ſtrike the Baſons as they uſed to do other Baſons and Pots, with a Ring held by a thread in the hand, and ſtriking the ſides of the Veſſel ſo many times, to make Divination by the ſounds.

[1] *Cæco Tomuri Jovis augure luco Arbore præſagâ tabulas animâſſe Loquaces.* Claudian.

CAP. III.

De Divinatione per ſomnium, ſuper Melotas in Templis, cum obſervatione diætæ.

PRopheſying by a *Dream*, was either Ὀνειροπόλος, *Somniatoris*, of a *Dreamer* of *Dreams*, or Ὀνειροκρίτης, *Conjectoris*, of an *Interpreter* of Dreams, ſuch as *Hecuba* ſpake of, when ſhe ſaid ὡς μοι κείνων τῶν ὀνείρων. The latter of theſe ſurely belongs

belongs to the *technical* part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an *Art*, as well as any other sort of *Ariolation*. For he that shall object that speaking but *sometimes* true, does not argue skill, because *si sæpe jactaveris, quandoque venerem jacies*, in [a] *Cicero*'s opinion may be answered with this question, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* Besides, if it were no Art, what talk we of *Xenophon*'s Dream in his service with *Cyrus*; or how came it, that there were so many Books written of this Subject? For, to say nothing of [b] eleven more that wrote of purpose of it, nor of the Treatise, περὶ ἐνυπνίων, reported by [c] *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his Books, *Artemon Milesius* wrote two and twenty Books of it himself; and there is a very pretty Copy of about fourscore *Senarii* Verses in Greek, touching the signification of such or such a sight in a Dream. But the Dream (you must understand) was not every ὄναρ, or *vain* Dream (for so does the Etymology import, παρὰ τὸ ὀνῆσθαι κενὸν εἶναι, says *Eustathius*) but ὕπαρ, or ὄνειρον, a *morning dream*; fresh and fasting, such as ὕπαρ is, saith [d] *Homer*, which they derive παρὰ τὸ ὕπνου ἄρσεως, which comes about waking time, or ὄνειρον, which they derive παρὰ τὸ ὂν εἶναι, and of such is that of *Orpheus* in the *Hymn*: Ἄγγελε μελλόντων ὀνείρων χρησμῷ θ' ἡμῖν. I believe few that reade me are such as *Plutarch*'s *Thrasymede*, or *Pliny*'s *Atlantes*, that never dreamt of a Dream, and therefore I will make bold to detain them the longer. It is variously conjectured who was the first *conjectour* in this kind. * *Pliny* says, *Amphyction*, *Deucalion*'s Son; *Philo Judæus*, *Abraham*; *Trogus Pompeius*, *Joseph*; *Pausanias* would have it to be *Amphiaraus*; whom he reports to have been deified for his skill, and that they used to sacrifice to him, when they looked for a Dream. They talk that the people that lived near *Borysthenes*, and the *Gades*, were excellent at this work; and so were those that lived at the [f] *Hiblæ*, two Cities so named in *Sicily*. But among all, the *old doting women* were best at it,

Quæ mihi non decies somnia versat anus.

When they desired to dream a prophetical Dream, sometimes they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiaraus*, and sleep

[a] *Lib.* 1. *Divin.*

[b] Hadr. Jun. *animad.*

[c] *In* Pompeio.

[d] Οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐγρόμενον, ὅτοι τε βλεσμυχίοιο ἔσαν. Hom. *Odyss.* T.

* *Lib.* 7. *Cap.* 5.

[f] Pausan. *Eliac.* Propertius *L.* 2. *El.* 4.

upon the fleece. For thus the *Daunii* uſed to doe in the Temple of [g] *Calchas*. So likewiſe the *Calabri* uſed their *Melotæ*, *Sheep-skins*, or fleeces, to ſleep upon the Sepulchre of *Podalirius*. And it ſeems, it was a common practice both for dreaming, for *Virgil* alſo ſays,

g Ἐναγίζουσι δὲ αὐτῷ μήλαινα κρίον οἱ μαντευόμενοι ἐγκοιμώμενοι ἐν τῷ δέρματι, Strabo, *l.* 6. Cæl. Rodig.

——*Cæſarum ovium ſub nocte ſilenti*
Pellibus incubuit ſtratis, ſomnóſque petivit.

and alſo for *purifying* a polluted perſon in the *Eleuſinian* and other ſacrifices: for they took the skins of Beaſts that had been ſacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of Διὸς κώδια) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was no ſmall uſe of fleeces and skins in ſeveral other buſineſſes; as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I told you) ſate upon a fleece for a cuſhion, to ſhew her purpoſe *Lanificio intendere*, of ſpinning and carding. The *Scythians* play'd mad tricks with skins. For among them, if a man had been wronged, and had need of help to revenge himſelf, he would ſacrifice an Ox, and cut the fleſh into pieces and boil it, and ſit upon the skin with his hands behind him, and ſo beg for help. Then came his Friends, and every one taking a piece of the fleſh, and ſetting his right foot on the skin, promiſed either men or arms, or what he beſt could. Such ceremonies as theſe, they accounted a faſt engagement, and much conducing to the ſucceſs. Sometimes they would go and ſleep in the Temple with Laurel, or ſome ſuch fatidical ſtuff tyed about their heads, and ſacrifice to [h] *Brizo*, the Goddeſs of the *Dreamers*, ſo called from Βρίζειν, to *ſleep*. The *Lacedemonians* kept men of purpoſe to *ſleep* in the Temple of *Paſithia*, to watch for Dreams. So if any were *ſick* they would go and ſleep in the Temple of *Æſculapius* to *dream of a remedy*, (as they have uſed to doe with us, to go watch at the Church-door, to know who ſhould dye next) *Pluto* in *Ariſtophanes* did ſo,

Αὐτὰ δὲ ὅταν ἡ ἐν ὕπνῳ μάντις, Athenæus. *l.* 8.

Καὶ κλίνομαι δ' ἅπαντα ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν.

And the like was wont to be done in *Ægypt* in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has ſufficiently declared the vanity of all theſe doings in ſaying,

i *Non*

[i] *Non delubra deûm, nec ab æthere numina mittunt*
Sed ſibi quiſque facit.

[i] *Sat.* 6.

Beſides all this they took a ſpecial care of their diet, ſo as to faſt for *one* day before, and abſtain from Wine for *three*: as likewiſe to forbear eating Beans or raw Fruit. *Ariſtotle* ſays, there is no credit to be given φαινοπωρεινοῖς ἐνυπνίοις, *to dreams in the Autumn.* But *Plutarch* queſtions that again, and ſays if we eat good and ripe Fruit, [k] ἧττον ἀπαληλοῖς, καὶ ψεύδεται ἐνυπνίοις σύνεσμεν, *our dreams will be the truer. Fiſh,* either they counted very good or very bad. For when they ſacrificed to *Brizo,* they offered Boats full of all manner of things but Fiſh; whether it were to pleaſe the Goddeſs with the ſparing of the beſt thing, or the rejection of the worſt, I cannot tell. [l] *Plutarch* obſerves that the head of a *Polypus* is as *ſour* in the *dream,* as 'tis ſweet in the *taſte*; and therefore compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately uſed. Some choice there was alſo of the *colour* of their Clothes. For the whiteſt and cleareſt was beſt, σαλῶ λευκῷ κρίλλεσθαι ἐν ὕπνῳ φέρειν, ſays *Suidas*: as if Dreams and Viſions muſt needs be the *clearer.* The trueſt Dreams (ἐνθουσιάζει) or the cleareſt Viſions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the morning (the former time [m] *Homer* calls νυκλὸς ἀμολγὸς, *the milking time in the Morning,* in oppoſition to ἠμέρας ἀμολγὸς, *the milking time in the Evening*)

[k] *Sympoſ. l.* 9.

[l] Cæl. Rhod. *l.* 27. *c.* 10.

[m] Ὡς οἱ ἀναγκαῖοι ὄνειρον ἀπέσυλο νυκλὸς ἀμολγῷ. *Odyſſ.* δ'.

——ἔγγυθι δ' ἠοὼς
Εὖτε κὲ ἀζηχὲς ποιμαίνῃ ἔθνεα ὀνείρων.

ſays *Theocritus*: and [n] *Ovid* was of the ſame mind. *Pliny* ſays a Dream is never true preſently after eating and drinking. But *Artemedorus* ſays 'tis all one for that, ἐπεὶ αἱ ἄμεζοι ἔοραι εὐδὲ θεὸς τῇ ἠῶ παρέχωσιν εὐδεῖν τὸ ἀληθὲς, for if *you eat too much, the dream will never be the truer, if it tarry till morning.*

[n] *Namque ſub aurora jam dormitante lucerna*
Tempore quo certi ſomnia vera ſolent.

CAP. IV.

De duabus Portis.

SO great difference there was in Dreams, that they were fain to make two diſtinct doors for them to come in by,

one of Horn, and another of Ivory. For thus much *Penelope* her ſelf could tell [a] *Ulyſſes* (when ſhe deſired him to interpret her Dreams)

[a] *Odyſſ. τ'.*

Δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων
Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.

[b] *In Ephemer.* [b] *Auſonius* ſays as much; telling you which are the true, and which the falſe,

Et geminas numera portas quæ fornice eburno
Semper fallaces glomerant ſuper aëra ſomnos,
Altera quæ veros emittit cornea viſus.

And I have heard of ſome Chriſtians that have believed the ſame: *Philoſtratus* ſays, that in alluſion to theſe doors, they uſed to picture a Dream with a white garment upon a black, and a *Horn* in his hand. The door for the *true* Dreams was of *Horn*,

[c] Nonnus. *dion.* δ'. [c] Ἁπλανέος δρύσκοντα δ' ὑπερθε πυλεῶνος.

(Surely this was made of the Horns of the Ram, when they ſlept upon the Fleece: of which before) the door for the *falſe* and *deceitfull* Dreams was of Ivory, ſuch as that wherewith *Morrheus* was cozened in the Poet,

[d] Nonn. [d] Μόρρεα δ' ὑπνώοντα περὶ παφὲν ὄφις ὀνείρου
Κλειθρώοιν ἐλέφαντος ἀναίξασα πυλάων.

Lucian therefore jeers the covetous *Micyllus* for wiſhing his *Dream-door* were of *Gold*, whereas there were but thoſe two in all, as may be gathered by theſe words in * *Plato*. Ἄκυε τὸ ἐμὸν ὄναρ, εἴτε διὰ κεράτων, εἴτε δι' ἐλέφαντος ἐλήλυθεν. The reaſon of thoſe names, I find very prettily gueſſed at by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* at the place above commended, and I ſhall deſire your patience to tell them. Firſt, the true (ſays he) comes by the Horn-door, or ὅτι κέρας· becauſe τὰ ἔτυμα κεραίνουσι, or κραίνουσι, that is, *effectum reddunt*, they ſay no more than comes to paſs, whereas thoſe that came in by the Ivory door, or ἐξ ἐλέφαντος, ἐλεφαίρεσθαι, or ἐλπαίρεσθαι, delude the dreamer with a fruitleſs hope of truth. Secondly, κεραλίνη ὀπτικὴ, the *coming in by the Horn* is as much as coming *clearly*, for one may ſee through horn, if it be made thin: ἐλεφαντίνη, the other *confuſedly*, for one cannot ſee through Ivory, nor any other ſuch white things, as milk,

* *In* Charmide.

or

or the like, if they be never ſo little, and ſo does interpret it too. Thirdly, By the Κέρας is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or κεφάλοειδὴς χιτὼν, *cornea tunica*, the firſt *coat* of the eye. And by the ἐλέφας the mouth, or the *Ivory-coloured* teeth, ἐλεφαντόχρωτες ὀδόντες, and ſo the meaning muſt be, that which is to be *ſeen* with the *eye* is likelier, than that which is but *ſaid* to be ſo from the *teeth*. And this was alſo the opinion of *Servius* concerning the ſame fiction, upon thoſe words of *Virgil*,

Sunt Geminæ ſomni portæ, &c.

Fourthly, By the *Horn-door*, may be meant the paſſage for the more Heavenly and Diviner ſort of Dreams, ἔφιοι ὄνειροι, διόπεμπτοι: by the other, the entrance for the χθόνιοι, the more earthly, groſs and confuſed. Becauſe the Elephants *Proboſcis* turns downward towards the Earth, whereas the Horns of other Beaſts lookt upward towards Heaven. Fifthly, Ἐλέφαντος, is the door of the falſe Dreams, becauſe there can be no other but falſe Dreams expected, when the *teeth* have eaten too much.

The Gueſts which are to come in by theſe doors, were thought to be *Ghoſts* and *Spirits* from Hell. *Umbræ*, *ſhadows* they might well be: and ſuch as aſcend in a *fume* too like Furies from the nether part of the body. Again, as Ghoſts are δῆμος ὀνείρων, ſaid to fly in and out like Dreams, and death is a ſleep: ſo Dreams are ſaid to fly in and out like Ghoſts, and ſleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them Νυκτίφοιτα Δαίμονα, *Night-walking-Bug-bears*. Fly they did with *black wings*, like Batts of the night: and therefore *Euripides* calls a Dream Μελανοπτέρυγον, *Orpheus* Ταυροπτέρον, *Lucian* Πτηνόν. If this be ſo, the reaſon, why before they went to bed, when they meant to dream, they uſed to ſacrifice a Victime to *Mercury*, was, it may be, not ſo much becauſe of his *Rod*, with which he brought people aſleep, and awakened them again, as becauſe he was Gentleman-uſher of the Ghoſts: for what reaſon ſoever it was, it ſeems *Mercury* was moſt in their minds when they were ready to ſleep: and therefore as at Feaſts, ſo at other times, the laſt of their prayers was to him, and the laſt health that went round was his.

For

[f] Speaking of ſleep, ſays he, *Hoc velamen cum in quiete ad verum uſque aciem animæ introſpicientis admittit de cornu creditur, ejus iſta natura eſt, ut tenuatum viſui pervium ſit, cum autem à vero hebetat ac repellit, obtuſum, ebur putatur cujus, &c. l. c. 3. in Somnium. Scip.*

[g] Homer. *Odyſſ.* ψ'.

For ſo we find *Calaſiris* in *Heliodorus*, ὀρθὸς πάσιν, &c. After he had prayed to all the reſt of the Gods, calling upon *Mercury* for [h] εὐόνειρον νύκτα, *a night of good dreams.* Hence was it that they uſed to faſten τὰς Ἑρμᾶς, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of Ἑρμῆνες. When they ſacrificed that *Victime*, they uſed to take the Tongue and [i] burn it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all Tongues and Speech to be conſecrated, ὡς τῷ λέγειν καὶ ἑρμηνείας ἐπόρῳ, ſays the Scholiaſt upon [k] *Ariſtophanes.* With whom agrees *Athenæus*, ᾧ καὶ τὸν οἶνον αἱ γλῶτται διὰ τὸν Ἑρμῆν. Others who did not think Dreams to be Ghoſts, yet would have them to be put into the heads by Spirits, as *Plato* who thought the air to be full of ſuch things. And ſo *Democritus* (as the Scholiaſt reports, who ſays that he had it from [l] *Homer* himſelf) thought that men dreamt this or that Dream κατ' ἐπιρροὰς καὶ ἐμπνοίας, or (as [m] *Plutarch* has it from the ſame man) κατὰ παραστάσεις τῶν Εἰδώλων, *according to this or that compoſition or ſeparation of Images or Ghoſts, or Phancies*, or ſomewhat. But indeed I think thoſe Εἴδωλα, ſhould not be ſo much Images as Imaginations, nor ſo much *Umbræ*, *Ghoſts*, as *Adumbrationes*, *Images* and *Species* in the phancy proceeding from the *Spirits* within, and not from thoſe without.

[h] Suidas. *l.* 3.

[i] Σχ. *on Odyſſ.* 12.

[k] *Plut.*

[l] *In Odyſſ.* δ'.

[m] *De Placit. Philoſ.*

CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum Luſtratione.

FOR their *deſcent*, they thought all Dreams to have one common mother the *Earth*, πάντων μήτηρ ὀνείρων, ſays *Euripides.* And the Scholiaſt upon him gives the reaſon, ἐκ μὲν τῆς γῆς αἱ τροφαὶ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τροφῶν οἱ ὕπνοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὕπνων οἱ ὄνειροι, becauſe *from the earth comes meat, from meat ſleep, and from ſleep dreams.* Some indeed thought, they were from *Hecate*, (and ſo they may come from the Earth ſtill.) And ſome from the *Moon*, which was all one, and ſuited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For

For the *Kinds* of Dreams, *Macrobius* makes five, *viz.* 1. Φάντασμα, 2. Ἐνύπνιον, 3. Ὄνειρος, 4. Ὅραμα, 5. Χρηματισμός. Others divided them into ἀλληγορικὰς, and θεωρηματικὰς ὀνείρους, θεωρηματικοὶ were *οἱ τῇ ἑαυτῶν δέᾳ παρεισκύπτες, when things appeared in their own likeneſs.* Ἀλληγορικοὶ were when they appeared in the likeneſs of *other* things; when one thing was dreamt and another meant. Such as *Cæſar's* was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and ſo was informed *Imperium orbis terræ portendi, quæ cunctorum viventium ſit mater, That the whole earth, the mother of every living thing, was to be under him.* Nay the diſtinction of Dreams was ſo accurate, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was feigned to have no leſs than three Servants to wait upon him. For if he would have a Dream that ſhould concern *Men*, he made uſe of [a] *Morpheus*, if *Beaſts*, of *Phobetor* (as *Men* called him) or *Icolas* (as the *Gods* called him) *Fit fera, fit volucris*; if inanimate Creatures *(quæque vacant animâ)* of him that had the name of *Phantaſos*. (I wonder how he could remember all the ſhapes, and the River of *Lethe* ſpring in his houſe, and his houſe be as dark a den as any among the *Cimmerii*, for ſo it is feigned to be.)

[a] Ovid. *Met. l.* 12. *f.* 10.

But after all this doting about a Dream, is there any remedy, if I meet with none of the beſt? Yes by all means, as ſoon as I ariſe, be ſure to tell it to *Veſta*, or ſome other houſhold *ſtuff*, *diis penatibus*;

[b] *Vadit & hinc caſtæ narratum ſomnia Veſtæ*
Quæ ſibi, quæque mihi non nocitura forent.

[b] Propert. *l.* 2. *Eleg.* 29.

Or if you think this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo Averruncus*, called by them ἀποτρόπαιος, ἐξακεσίος, or προσταλήριος, becauſe his Image uſed to ſtand in the *Porches*. Some had rather to doe it to *Hercules*, and ſome to *Jupiter*, as *he* does in *Plautus*: But there is better reaſon why they ſhould doe it to the *Sun*, *viz.* [c] Ἵνα ἐπειδὴ ἐναντίος ἐστὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἀποτροπὰ ἐργάζηται, *&c. Becauſe the Sun being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evils brought by the ſame.* They are the words of the Scholiaſt upon that of *Sophocles* —ἠλίῳ δείκνυσι, τἀναγῆ, *&c.* They called this action [d] ἀποπέμπεσθαι, ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι, and ἀποτρόπαια ἔτυχον ὄψιν, but

[c] *In Electr.*

[d] Eurip. *in Hec.*

but most properly, ὑποτροπιάζεσθαι τῷ ἡλίῳ. It was practised by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when she had dreamt of the fall of the house: although she (or the Poet) had so much wit as to think it to be to little purpose;

* Idem. in Taur. v. 43.

* "Α κεινὰ δ' ἦκει νὺξ φέρουσα φάσματα
Λέξω πρὸς αὐδὴν εἴτε δὴ πρὸς ἐς' ἄκη.

If you think that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, go make a prayer and wash your self lustily in the cold River till you sweat,

[f] Sil. Ital. l. 8.

[f] *sub lucem ut visa secundent,*
Oro cœlicolas, & vivo purgor in amne.

Or if the River water be not good enough, go to the Fountain, as he did in [g] *Æschylus*,

[g] *In Persis.*

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνέσλω χὠ χρυσῆν καλλιῤῥόᾳ
Ἔλουσα πηγῆς σὺν δυσπόλῳ χαρᾷ
Βωμῷ προσέσλω ἀποδοπαίοις δυσμοῖς
Θέλουσα δύσια πέλανον.

If you think no *cold* water will doe it, call for *hot*, as he does in [h] *Aristophanes*,

[h] *In Ranis.*

——ἐκ πολέμων δρόσον ἄρασθε
Θέρμασθε δ' ὕδωρ
Ὡς ἂν θεῖον ὄνειρον ἀποκλύσω.

But perhaps no kind of *fresh* water is strong enough; you may doe well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they used to wash away not onely the evil of a Dream, but of a crime, or disease, or any thing else: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into *Ægypt*, being troubled with the falling sickness, was bid by the Priest, to bathe himself in the Sea, and being by that means cured, he presently gave this commendation of it,

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

So I remember *Plutus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his sight. After murther (for other sins they scarce thought great enough) *to cast hot water* was a common practice; and then no fear of the displeasure of a God for the future,

——λύμασθ' ἁγίσας ἁμὰ
Μῆνιν βαρεῖαν ἐξαλδύσομαι θεᾶς.

SECT.

SECT. II.

De Divinatione artificiosa, & primò, de Ornithomantia.

THE *Technical* part of Divining, *artificiosum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of Birds, and the Entrals of Beasts. Besides which were φήμαι or κληδόνες ominous words, or things, σύμβολα ἐνόδια, κλῆροι, *lots*, τέρατα, *sights*, and indeed ἕτερα μυρία (as the Scholiast saith upon [a] *Homer*) infinite many more: but the two first were every where most in use. [b] *Quæ est autem gens, aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut extis pecudum aut Augurum, aut sortium prædictione moveatur?* In the first the *Phrygians, Cicilians, Arabians, Pisidians* and the *Umbrians* excelled. The *Lacedemonians* had so great esteem of it, that every King had his Augur to advise him, as well as the Senate. It was first invented, (saith [c] *Pliny*) by one *Car, Auguria ex avibus invenit Car, à quo Caria nomen habet: adjecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*: so that he proved exceeding usefull to the *Greeks* in the *Trojan* Expedition, not onely shewing them how they should pacifie *Diana* deteining the Ships at [d] *Aulis*, and *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling the number of years that the War should last, by the number of Sparrows destroyed by the Serpent in the Nest, as *Cicero* renders the Verses,

Nam quot aves tetro mactatas dente videtis,
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos,
Quæ decimo cadet, & pœna satiabit Achivos.

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for grief, because he could not tell how many Pigs were in the belly of a Sow (say some) or how many Figs upon the Fig-tree (saith *Hesiod*) which *Mopsus*, with whom he contested, was able to tell. The name they called it by was, ὀρνιθομαντεία, or οἰωνιστική. It was οἰονιστικὴ at first with an *omicron*, according to

[a] *Il.* α'.
[b] Cicer. *l.* 1. *Divin.*
[c] *L.* 7. *c.* 55.
[d] *Il.* β'.

Plato, as being ἐν τῇ νῦ χ) διανοίας πορίζωμεν ἀνδρωπίνῃ ὄψει· but *now* (ſaith *Ariſtides*) they write it with *omega* τὸ ὦ σεμνύνοντες, *to give the better grace to the word*: and it is ſtill uſed as the old word was, for any kind of divination; as ὄρνις and οἰωνὸς, a *bird*, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur*'s faſhion to wear a white Garment (whereas it was Purple, or Scarlet, among the Latins,) and to have οἰωνιστήριον his *place* and his *ſeat* appointed for the purpoſe, τὸν δίκυν, or δίκυς,

Εἰς δ' παλαιὸν δῶκον ὀρνιθοσκόπους ἵζον.

Says he in *Sophocles*. And the Scholiaſt upon the word δίκοι in * *Euripides* ſays, it was a place made in *Thebes*, where *Tireſias* uſed to ſit and divine. When they went to it οἱ οἰωνοσκόποι ἐν δέλτοις ἐσημειοῦντο τὰς ὄψεις (ſaith the ſame Scholiaſt) doubting their *memory* might not ſuffice, they carried their *Table-books* with them, and wrote down the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the *ſeeing* too *Tireſias*, being blind, and onely able to *fore-ſee*, and judge of things as they were told him, was fain to have his Daughter to doe for him: by which means ſhe her ſelf at length, after the death of her Father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the Art. Yea not onely the *habit* of the Greek *Augures*, but their manner of obſerving was different from other people. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis ſignis? Aliter obſervant, aliter reſpondent*, ſays *Cicero*. The Greeks accounted the *right ſide* the luckieſt, *Græiis & Barbaris dextra meliora*; the Romans the *left*. Although (to ſpeak the truth) the *ſide* was the ſame, onely the *poſture* of the *Augures* was different: For the Grecians looked towards the North, and the Romans towards the South, and the word *ſiniſtra* for *lucky* or *good ſigns*, came not ſo much *à ſiniſtra manu* from the *hands* being left; as *à ſtuendo*, from the *man*'s being left to his pleaſure to ſet upon his enterprize if he would. So ſays *Feſtus*: and *Cicero* thus, *Quanquam haud ignoro quæ bona ſunt ſiniſtra nos dicere, etiam ſi dextra ſint.* But yet this was the manner of ſpeech, *viz.* For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens always ἐκ δεξιὰ, *right* (and therefore *Statius* may

* *In Antigon.*

* Ζεῦς δ' σφὶν χρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνει, *ſays* Ajax, *Hom. Il.* 10.

may ſeem to have miſtaken, when he ſpake of a Grecian Augury.

[g] *Signa feras lævâſque tones* ——) [g] *Theb.*

the Romans ſometimes *dextra*, and ſometime *læva*; but the one *more Suo*, and the other *more Græco*. *Unlucky* Birds (a word uſed among us for an unhappy *wag*) they called ἐξαλαίμους, or ἐξέδρους, when they fled not, or *pitcht* not in their uſual height or place. This laſt word puts me in mind of that Saying of *Hippolytus* perhaps in alluſion to it,

—— [h] ξυμπλήσασι με [h] Eurip. Hippol.
Λόχοι παρ' ἀλλοδαπὸνίδες ἔξεδροι φρενῶν. *v.* 934.

Sometimes they are called ἀποθύμιοι, or κωλυτικοὶ, *inhibæ*, ἐγκλειστοι, *arculæ*, and ἀσκήλεοι (as in [i] *Apollonius*) *ab* ἔσκω, *cedo*, as who would ſay *non ſiniſtræ*, or *non ſinentia*; as I told you before. And ſuch they commonly counted thoſe that had long talons, or * ſcracht their heads as they fled, ſuch as they ſay were ſeen upon *Caſſius* his Tent before his defeat: the Latins call them *Volſgras*. But what? is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy againſt a few paltry Birds? yes, I have read in [k] *Apuleius* of a trick to kill one or two of the Worſer ſort, and hang them up at the door: as we uſe to doe dead Crows upon a ſtick in the field, to ſcare the living away: Says he, *Iſtas nocturnas aves cùm penetraverint Larem quempiam, ſolicitè prehenſas foribus videmus affigi, ut quod infauſtis volatibus familiæ minantur, exitium ſuis luant cruciatibus.* Birds that were *lucky* either in their nature, or the place they appeared in, were called [l] αἴσιοι, or ὄλιοι, that is, ſuch as were not ἐξέδροι (*unſeatly*, or *unſightly* as we uſe to ſay) but appeared πιμπεσίποις ἐν ἕδραισι, (as [m] *Æſchylus* has it) in their proper *ſphere* or *ſeat*, ſuch they counted Doves, and the σπὶν in matters of Love: as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continual crowing in matters of War. For hereupon the Augurs once foretold the *Thebans* a Victory, *Propterea quod avis illa victa ſilere ſoleret, canere, ſi viciſſet*, Cockfightings indeed were uſually σήσεων σημαντικοὶ ſaith [n] *Artemidorus*, *ſigns of ſedition and diſcord*. But then you muſt except the Cock *matches* kept once a year in the Theatre, and inſtituted by [o] *Themiſtocles* after the Victory gotten over the *Perſians*,

[i] *In Argo.*

* Κίρκου πτερυγὸς ἐφορμαίνουσα χὴ χηλαῖς κάρα πλανῶσα, *ſays* Æſchylus.

[k] *Metam. li.* 3.

[l] Eurip. *in Hec.*

[m] Ὄρνιν ἰδὼν πνα ἐν αἰσταῖς ἕδραις.

[n] *Lib.* 3. *c.* 5.

[o] Ælian. *Var. Hiſt. l.* 2. *c.* 28.

[p] Athen. *l.* 14. *Perſians*, from them [p] the Cock firſt came into *Athens*. This Bird being always very much lookt upon in matters of War, was the occaſion that *Mars* was pictured with a [q] Cock: inſomuch that it was their ordinary ſacrifice to *Mars*, and therefore [r] *Ariſtophanes in Avibus* calls it Ἀρεϊκὸν, *Mars his own bird*. All Birds, (ſaith one) were either μαντικὰ, or μεσσὰ, or διαδοσία· μαντικὰ (I believe) were not many beſides Crows, and Eagles, and Doves, and Owls the moſt noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language; which the Augurs came to underſtand by being lickt by Snakes, or ſome ſuch venemous and veneneſical means: *Qui credit iſta* (ſays † *Pliny*) *& Melampodi profecto aures, lambendo deciſſe Intellectum avium ſermonis Draconis non abnuet, vel quæ Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuſo ſanguine ſerpens gignatur, quem ſi quiſquam ederit, intellecturus ſit avium colloquia*, *Euſtathius* ſays, that *Helenus* and *Caſſandra* were thus licked clean into Augurs, Ἑλένῳ καὶ Κασσάνδρᾳ ἐν ναῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄντων ἐλαφόντες ὄφεις καὶ τὰ ὠτία περιλείξαντες ὥστε ὑπὸ ὀξυηκόους εἰργάσαντο ὡς μόνους τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀκούειν βουλάς. I am glad I am ſaved the labour to reprove thoſe fellows *my ſelf*. For it ſeems that the wiſer ſort even amongſt them, did give but little heed to the wagging of a Feather, or of a Bird's tail, when they had a mind to be ſerious. Look in *Homer*, and you ſhall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamus* the Theban *Augur* (who had diſſwaded him from fighting, by reaſon of ſome thing or other which he had obſerved in the Birds) ſays he, *you may, if you think good, ſit and gaze upon a few fooliſh Birds, till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion,*

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

In *Ariſtophanes* you find the Birds themſelves *oſcinentes*, *chirping* and *gibing* their Spectatours of their Superſtition,

Ἐσμὲν δ' ὑμῶν δαίμονες, Δελφοὶ, Δωδώνη, φοῖβός θ' Ἀπόλλων,
Ἐλαθόντες δὲ θεῶν τὸν ἐπ' ὄρνεις, ὥστε πρὸς ἅπαντα βλέπειν.

[q] Roſin.

[r] Σχ. *in* Ariſtoph. *Aves.*

† *Lib.* 10. *c.* 49.

CAP.

CAP. I.

De Extiſpicina, & quibuſdam aliis.

DIvination by the Entrals of Beaſts, or *Extiſpicina* (for ſo *Aruſpicina, Divination in Sacrifices,* is denominated *à potiori* from the beſt part of it) was more common than that former in all places (*Extis omnes ferè utuntur,* ſays *Cicero:*) and eſpecially at *Elis* where it was by the two Families of the *Jamidæ*, and the [a] *Clytidæ*, and *Thelmeſſus* in *Caria* much improved. *Tireſias* had ſo great skill in this Art (I cannot ſay *inſight*, becauſe *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindneſs*) that even after his death, among the Ghoſts there were none but [b] his; *Ulyſſes* himſelf was fain to trouble his Soul to come back again to give him advice. The whole buſineſs of divining at the offering of a Victime (for there was ſomething elſe to doe beſides poring in the Guts) was called ἱεροσκοπία. And a very ſolemn buſineſs it was, being uſually attended with a Feaſt, according to that,

[a] Pindar.

[b] Τῷ χὴ πεθνεῶτι νόον πόρε φερσεφόνεια οἷῳ πεπνύσθαι. Hom. *Odyſſ. R.*

—— [c] ὅπως πθσηείαν δοιγα τόμεθα. [c] Eurip. *Elect.* v. 835.

Θυσικὴ, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμφιδολία, and the act of cutting ἐνωμοτεῖν. The ſigns obſerved were moſt properly called σημεῖα, and the obſervers σημαντικοί. If the Beaſt were drawn by force to the ſlaughter, if it eſcaped by the way, avoided the blow, fell not down quietly, bled but little, were long a-dying, kept beating the ground, they were all ill ſigns. For the two latter of them you have ſadly expreſſed in the Sacrifice of *Ægyſthus*,

—— [d] πᾶν ἢ σῶμ' ἄνω κάτω
Ἤσπαιρεν ἠλάλαζε λυδνῆσκον φόνῳ. [d] *Ibid.*

Ill ſigns, I ſay thoſe were; and ſo was any thing elſe that either was contrary to nature or uſe, or put themſelves to any trouble. Whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with eaſe, the Beaſt not ſtriving, and the bloud preſently darting out, as it is ſaid it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*,

—— [*] ἄμυ-

* *Idem*, v. 1603.

——* αἴμαλ' ὃ δ' ἐσορῶσαι
Εἰς οἶδμ' ἐσπκόνλιζον ἕρια.

Somewhat there was too, which they obſerved in the very νδμαλα or *wagging* of his tail, whence that in the Poet,

——ἡ κἐρκ' ποιῆ κελαδεῖ.

The Beaſts that were thus uſed were anciently Sheep, and Goats, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they ſay) made uſe of Sows, and the *Jamidæ* of Dogs; which was the reaſon why [f] *Thraſibulus* one of the pedigree was pictured at *Olympia* with a Dog lying by him diſſected, and a Weezle (an ominous Creature) creeping over his ſhoulder.

[f] Paul. *in Eliac.*

In *Fiſſiculation* or *cutting* it abroad, they took moſt notice of the *Liver*, which [g] *Philoſtratus* ſays they accounted the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chair*, and the *key* of the work. For they thought if the Liver was naught, both the bloud and all the reſt of the body muſt needs be ſo too; inſomuch that the work about all the bowels was called ἡπαλοσκοπία, a *looking into the Liver*. The concavous part of the Liver was called ἑστιὰς, *familiaris*, becauſe the ſigns which they obſerved there, concerned *themſelves and their friends*: the *Gibbous* ſide, [h] ἐπιβολὴ or ἀντιβάτης, *hoſtilis*, becauſe the tokens in it concerned their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans.) The place or *ſeat* in which all the parts of the Liver lay, was called θέσις or δοχὴ, the place between the parts in the middle πυλαῖα, and εὐρυχωρία. [i] *Heſychius* calls it ὀδὸς or ἐνοδὸς, *Euripides* πυλὰς,

[g] Ἐν ἡπατι φασὶ τὸ αὐτῶν μαντικῆς εἶναι τρίποδα οἱ δεινοὶ τοῦτο.

[h] Heſych.

[i] Σχ. *ad Orat.* Demoſt. *Coron.*

——πυλαὶ δ' ἀρχαὶ πέλας
Κακοῖς ἔφαινον τῷ σκοτοῦντι φροβολάς.

If there were δυσὰς (as they called it) too *much dryth*, or δεσμὸς a *tye between the parts*, or eſpecially if it were ἄλοβον, or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill ſign according to that of [k] *Appian*, τὰ μεσόπα ἄλοβα εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὰ δ' ἄπερα ἢ εἰς δάιμαλον. This and other ſuch ſigns becauſe they were ſo bad, that they feared to *go any farther in it*; they called ἀκέλευστα. When they came to handle the heart, they called it καρδιεύειν, or καρδιλκεῖν. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill ſign. Fat in any part of the bowels was good, (κἀίσιον ἢ κάλα σπλαγχνεῖον) ſays *Æſchylus*; and

[k] L. 2.

ſo

ſo were Στασεις πλοκαι, *plaits* and *foldings*, ſays *Euripides*.

When they came to *burning*, then they were ſaid more properly [l] ἐμπυεῖν μαντεύεσθαι. At *Delphos* they had πυρκάοι, *officers* of purpoſe for the work. The *fire* which they made uſe of for this occaſion, was in moſt places made of ſome peculiar fewel, kindled by the beams of the Sun, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in *Ægypt* they had the *Seraphim*, and among the *Perſians*, the fire which they worſhipped under the name of *Orimaſda*. At *Athens* they had a Torch ſtill burning in the Temple of [m] *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins* conſtantly there to ſee it renewed; juſt as it was at *Delphos*, and at *Rome* in the Temple of *Veſta*.

[l] Heſych.

[m] Xenoph.

In burning they obſerved eſpecially the flames, whatever he in [n] *Helena* ſay to the contrary, where he ſpeaks againſt all other divinations too,

[n] *V.* 751.

Οὐδ' ἦν ἀρ' ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν ἐμπύοις φλογός.

Good ſigns in the flame were theſe, if it went upright without a noiſe, if it continued till all were conſumed; or if it ſuddenly began to have the latter ſign, inſtead of σχίζαι, *cleft wood*, which they uſed at other times, they would get ſmall dry ſticks that would ſooneſt take fire, τὰ φρύγανα, according to that,

[o] Ariſtoph. *in Pace.*

[o] Οὐκ ἦν. ἀλλ' ὦ σοι μαντικὰς τὰ φρύγανα πιθέσθαι.

Now indeed many times [p] ἦ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄτιμα τὰ σφάγι', γινώσκομεν εἰς πῦρ βλέποντες, that is, the Prieſts being *divinarumque ſagaces* [q] *Flammarum, divined by the burning, when there was nothing ſeen in the cutting*: and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wool (for which reaſon *Sophocles* calls the bladders μαλακόδετους κύστεις) put it into the fire, to obſerve in what place it brake, and *which way it darted the* Urine, [r] ᾗ τοῦ τὸ ἔρπον ἀκοντίζει. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there roſe but one entire flame, it was taken for a good ſign. In matters of hoſtility, they took moſt notice of the *Gall*, and the ἀκρεῖς καμπαὶ in the flame; and very good reaſon, πικρὸν γὰρ ἐχθροὶ, *for enemies are as bitter as the Gall they burn*. Of the Aſhes too they took ſome notice μαλλον ἀποβλεπτέον, ſays [†] *Sophocles*. In the ſmoke they obſerved if it went upright and ſmelt

[p] Σχ. *in* Eurip.

[q] Sil. Ital.

[r] Eurip. *in Phœn.*
Μάντεις μὲν ἔσφαζον, ἐμπύους τ' ἀκμὰς
Ῥήξεις τ' ἐνάλλων ὑγρότητ' ἐφρούρουν Νίκης τε σῆμα καὶ θεῶν ἀποστροφάς.

[†] *In Oedip. Tyr.*
Καλὸν δέαμα δυσμαμάτων Αἶθραι διαφαίνουσι πλευμάνιον κάπνον.

ſmelt of the fleſh. And ſo at other times they uſed to throw Frankincenſe and Popy, and ſeveral other things in the fire, for nothing elſe but to obſerve ſuch things, and to *ſmell the ſmoke*. Beſides theſe there were infinite more *Deviliſh* ſorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. Νεκρομαντεία or Νεκυομαντεία, was ſometimes by the magical uſe of a *bone*, or a *vein* of a dead body after the faſhion of the *Theſſalians*, or elſe by pouring hot bloud into the Carcaſe, to make it anſwer a queſtion, as *Erictо* does in *Lucan*,

——*Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit*
Protinus aſtrictus calui cruor, atráque fovit
Vulnera, &c.

Now becauſe the *Ghoſt* or the *Soul* was thus recalled to the Body ([t] ——*animas reſponſa daturas*) it was therefore ſometimes termed Ψυχομαντεία or Σκιομαντεία, *divining by the Soul*, or the *Ghoſt*. But ſuch as expected any anſwer thus from the Soul *then*, muſt be ſure to be kind to the Body *before*: for [v] *Meliſſa*, the Wife of *Periander*, refuſed to anſwer him, becauſe he had not buried her Body as he ſhould. But ſurely there was ſomewhat worſe than a Soul, elſe what need of *luſtration* of the party? Such as *Tireſias* uſed to the [x] *Theban* King, to keep him from receiving harm. *Hydromanteia* was ſometimes by Sea-water, but moſt commonly by that of a *Fountain*, and ſo was called Πηγομαντεία. It was done ſeveral ways. 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many a *Poet* too) οἱ ἀπὸ κατῤῥήτων ὑδάτων πίνοντες μαντικοὶ γινόμενοι, ſays *Ariſtides* in his *Orat. de Puteo*. 2. By throwing things into it to try whether they would ſink or ſwim, as they did *Cakes* in the Well of [y] *Ino*. 3. By *ſeeing the Images* of ſuch things as they ſought for, eſpecially in the Well of *Apollo Thryxeus* in *Achaia*. 4. By *dipping a Glaſs* in the Water, to know what would become of a *ſick* man. For as he lookt well or ill in the glaſs, accordingly they preſumed of his future condition. 5. By throwing in *three Stones*, and obſerving the *round* they made in the ſinking. Sometimes they made uſe of Oil, or of Wine inſtead of Water: and ſo it was termed Κύτλα, as when it was done in a Baſon,

[t] Horace.

[x] Sta. *l.* 4.

[y] Pauſan. *in Lacon.*

Λεκανο-

Λιθομαντεία, was by a *Sideritis*, a kind of *Loadſtone*, which if they waſht in Spring-water, would ſpeak like a Child. With ſuch a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the deſtruction of *Troy*. Κοσκινομαντεία, was by a Sieve, held up by a Thred, or a pair of Sheers, and turning round at the naming of the party that ſtole the thing, or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl.* 3. And I have ſeen it uſed by ſome Women, *impiâ fraude*, or *anili ſuperſtitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not leiſure (neither indeed is it *tanti*) to tell much of other ways of divining, of Δακτυλομαντεία, with *Gyges* his *Ring*: or of Ὠοσκοπεία with *Eggs*, which *Suidas* ſays *Orpheus* wrote a Book of: or of Κεδρομαντεία, with *Barly*; or of Λυχνομαντεία, by the *burning of a Candle*, mentioned by [z] *Pliny* in his *Natural Hiſtory*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognoſticks*. To which you may add their common old Wives *Saws* concerning weather or the like; ſuch as this, *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to diſparage thoſe more *Aſtrological* and *Rational*, ſuch as that of *Virgil*,

Luna revertentem, &c. with the reſt.

[z] *L.* 30. *c.* 11.

CAP. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALL this which I have ſpoken is to conjecture by *things*, but there is a way by *words* alſo, by which according as the words were good or bad, they preſaged ſuch and ſuch events. Such words were called κληδόνες or φῆμαι, from φάναι (ſuitable to the name of *Propheta*:) as *omen* comes from *oremen, quia fit ore* (quoth [a] *Feſtus.*) You may render it *voices* (for ſo we uſe to call thoſe prophetick ſpeeches, which we hear we know not from whence, as the Scripture alſo does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*: *Pythagorei non ſolùm voces decorum obſervârunt, ſed etiam hominum.* Any words that either boded ill, or ſignified that which they diſliked, they called βλάσφημα, and he that uſed them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was ſaid to

[a] *L.* 1. *Divin.*

βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν, to *blaſpheme* him, φθέγγεσθαι βλασφημίαν [b] *Euripides* calls it, where he ſpeaks of certain ominous Speeches let fall at a Feaſt by a Servant, juſt as one of the company was going to drink,

[b] *Ion.* 1188.

Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐφθέγξατο.

The Latins call it *obſcœnare*, and the words themſelves *malè ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may Engliſh it *hazlening ſpeeches*. Such words as theſe they had always a ſuperſtitious care to avoid; inſomuch that they would ſay inſtead of δεσμωτήριον, or *a priſon*, οἴκημα, *a houſe*. And ſo for Εἰνύνυες, Εὐμενίδες, and Σεμναὶ θεαὶ, for πῶμα, καλλίαι, for μῦς, ἀγὼν, and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as [c] *Tully* ſays of *Nulla ſpes Reipublicæ*) *non licet*, (to ſpeak in the phraſe of *Terence*) *Religio eſt dicere, they made a ſcruple to ſpeak*, and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other buſineſs with the Gods, nothing was more ſtrictly commanded and obſerved, than εὐφημεῖν (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of Holy-days) *to avoid all ominous expreſſions*, or [d] κακὰς ὄψεις (as they called them.) Which if they were ſpoken by a Brother, or one very near of kin to that party whoſe buſineſs was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them ſo much the worſe. What words were eſpecially counted for ominous, you might give me an account, if you could give me *Suetonius* his Book, of which we have but the Title, *viz. De vocibus malè ominatis*. Onely thus much I may tell you, that when they firſt ſet about any buſineſs of concernment, they had a ſpecial care to begin with a *Preface* θεὸς, θεὸς, or εὖ παθεῖμεν, or ἔστω μὲν εὖ, like to *Perſius* his *hoc benè ſit*, and that old threadbare word of the Latins, *Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumque ſit*. Some words there were, and proper names of ſuch a ſignification, as it was counted a happineſs but to hear them ſpoken. For ſo when *Iulus* had ſaid,

[c] *Epiſt. ad Caſſium.*

[d] Plato *l.* 7. *de Leg.*

Menſas etiam conſumimus——

preſently (ſays *Virgil*) his Father laid hold on the *word* and embraced the *omen*,

——tu

——ea vox audita laborum
Prima tulit finem, primumque loquentis ab ore
Eripuit pater——

So *Leotychides*, when he desired of a *Samian* his assistence against the *Persians*, asked what his name was, and being answered *Hegesistratus*, reply'd, *I embrace the omen* in the *nomen*, or Ἡγησίστρατος δέχομαι τὸ οἰωνόν· for δέχεσθαι τὸ οἰωνόν, is the same with *them*, that *accipere omen* is with the *Latins*, that is, to make an ominous speech an *omen* indeed, and *take* it to my self. For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an *omen* or not an *omen*: *ostentorum vires in eorum erant potestate, quibus ostendebantur*, says *Pliny*.

Now the way to *abominate* an *omen*, was either to fling a stone at the *thing*, if it were an ominous *Creature*, as a Cat, or the like: or else if it were an unlucky *speech*, to retort it back again with εἰς κεφαλήν σοι, *tibi in caput redeat, let it return upon thine own head.* Which perhaps, is an expression borrowed from a custome of the * ἱεροσκοποι, not onely among them, but among the *Ægyptians* also, who when they spied any thing of the *Victims*, that seemed to portend ill to their Countrey, used to pray εἰς κεφαλὴν τοῦτην τραπέσθαι, that it *might return upon the head of the beast.* The like perhaps is used in the Hebrew, *viz.* ישב בראש in several places of the Scripture; and it puts me in mind of that saying in *Seneca*, *Quis non si admoneatur ut de suis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen respuat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipsius intempestivi monitoris abire illa jubeat.* Instead of this sometimes they would say † εἰς ἀγαθὸν μοι, *dii monuerint meliora.* Sometimes upon such an unlucky speech heard while they did such a thing, they would doe it *another way*: or doe it *again*: as one in *Euripides*, upon some body speaking an unhappy word as he was a-drinking, threw the drink on the ground, and called for another cup.

* Herodot.

Obadiæ *v.* 15. & 1 Kings 2. *v.* 44, *&c.*

† Mosch. *Idyl.*

Things ominous, some of them were in the parties own bodies, and those were either, 1. *Marks*, such as Ἔλαιαι, *spots* like Oil. 2. Πάλμοι. 3. Πταρμοί. Παλμικὰ οἰωνίσματα, were such as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muscles, called in Latin *Salissationes*, and βόμβος,

or *tinnitus aurium*: which if it were the tingling of the *right ear*, it was as good as the palpitation of the [g] *right eye*. Of theſe things *Melampus* the great Fortune-teller wrote one Book to *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*: and *Poſidonius* another (ſays *Suidas*) which he called Παλμικὸν οἰώνισμα.

[g] Ἀλλεῖαι ὀφθαλμὸς μοι ὁ δεξιός. Theocr. *Id.* 3.

Πταρμὸς, *Sneezing*, was ſo ſuperſtitiouſly eſteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a *God*, ἡ πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγέμεθα, ſays *Ariſtotle* in his Problems. Which was the reaſon, ſaith [h] *Athenæus*, that they abſtained from eating the *brain*, out of which the ſneezing came: as alſo the cauſe of that uſual prayer of ſalutation, Ζεῦ σῶσον, at a ſneezing: according to that jeer of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long noſe, as if it had ſtood ſo far out, that he could not hear himſelf when he ſneezed,

[h] *L.* 2.

Οὐδὲ λέγει, Ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν πταρῇ, ἐ γὸ ἀκέει
Τῆς ῥινὸς πολὺ γὸ τ' ἀκοῆς ἀπέχει.

Inſomuch that if a man ſneezed at ſuch a *time*, or on ſuch a *ſide*, they were either perſwaded to, or diſcouraged from the buſineſs undertaken. *Socrates* (as *emunctæ naris* as he was) had ſo little *ſenſe* himſelf, as to fetch advice from another man's *noſe*, and to make a Sneeze ſerve inſtead of a *genius* or a [i] *dæmonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumſtances. If a man ſneez'd in the *afternoon* it was a good *omen*: but ill in the morning; and the reaſon is diſputed by *Ariſtotle* in his Problems. If a man ſneezed at Table while they were taking away, or if another hapned to ſneeze on the *left* hand of a man; then beware, all is not right. But if it hapned on the other hand, all was well; if I may take *Euphrantides* his judgment, encouraging *Themiſtocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground than ſuch a ſneeze, ἅμα γ' πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε. Such a ſneeze while *Xenophon* was making his ſpeech, was enough to make him a General. But another, while he perſwaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them ſuch an *omen* of ill luck, that they were fain to nuncupate a publick vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for *good*; as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, preſently after a ſpeech made of *Ulyſſes* his return, and revenging himſelf of his enemies,

[i] Plutarch. *de Dæmon. Socrat.*

Ὡς φάτο,

Ὡς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δ' ἄρα μιν γ' ἔπλαγεν——

and ſo *Penelope* took it (for ſays ſhe laughing and rejoycing)

Οὐχ ὀφέλας ἐμὸς υἱὸς ἐπιπλάγξ πᾶσιν ἔπεσσι.

And the reaſon may be becauſe ſneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholſome*, σωτηριώδης, which perchance was underſtood by the aforeſaid *Euphrantides*, when he added ὅτῳ δὲ Σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. But now at laſt I muſt tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long ago ſlighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiſer ſort; for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers hapned to ſneeze, as he was going on Shipboard being therefore diſſwaded from going by the Maſter of the Ship, burſt out a-laughing and ſaid, Ποῖον δὲ οἰωνίσμα εἰ ποσὶν τῶν πεντηκόντων εἷς ἔπλαξε, *What great Omen can it be for one man to ſneeze, when there be ſo many together?* But among the *Romans* a great deal more: for [k] *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ ſi ſuſpiciamus & pedis offenſio nobis, & corrigiæ abruptio, & ſternutamenta erunt obſervanda.*

[k] *L. 2. de Div.*

Ominous *actions* or *accidents*, were ſuch as theſe following. Firſt at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much uſed, to take a piece of the *cake* or *any* other thing, and carry it home *bonæ ſcævæ gratiâ*, as we ſay, *for the lucks ſake*. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what ſhall I call it, they called by the name of [l] ὑγίεια, *ſanitas*. If in ſacrificing the Prieſt did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unlucky *accident*. This obſervation the Romans called, *caducum auſpicium*. Secondly, at a *Feaſt* this action was lucky, to crown the Cup with a Garland, *paterâmque Coronâ induit*. The reaſon (ſays *Euſtathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, becauſe a Garland repreſents a Circle, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα σχήματα καὶ τέλεια ἔστι καὶ πολυχώρητα, *which is the moſt complete figure of all, and holds moſt*. Unlucky *accidents* were ſuch as theſe, *viz.* The coming in of a ſtrange black Dog, the cracking of a Table, the ſpilling of Wine, (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit than to write a Book) taking away while one was drinking, or a ſudden ſilence. In putting on of the Clothes the right ſide muſt be ſerved firſt; and therefore if a [m] Servant had but given his Maſter the *left* Shoe firſt, he

[l] Ὑγίεια ἄλφιτα οἶνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ πυρφορωμένα, καὶ παρὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φερόμενον, ἅτε μέσον, εἴτε ὅλως, *ſays* Heſychius.

[m] Ὁ οἰκέτης ὁ μαεὸς τὸ ὑποδήματα ὁπόδεξιον ἄρξας τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ. Chryſoſt.

he was ſure to have [n] it. And thus much at *Home*. *Abroad* they had for their *Omens*, σύμβολα ἐνόδια, or συμβόλους ὄρνιθας. That is (ſays the Scholiaſt) τοὺ πρῶτα ξυναντῶντας, *occurſacula, any thing that met them firſt*. Of ſuch as theſe one named *Hippocrates* (not the Phyſician) and another named *Pollos* wrote their Books. If a Snake lay ſo in the way, as to part the company; or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with Whelps, or a Fixon with Cubs; Oh! theſe things were [o] δυσοίωνα δυσοιώνισα καὶ ἀποτρόπαια δείματα, *abominanda & averruncanda, abominable ſights*. So if a man hapned to meet with a Black-moor, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, ἀπὸ πήδα ἀναχρέμει, ſaith *Lucian, he muſt ſtand forty foot off*. Nay if we meet with a Weezle or ſuch a Creature in the croſs-way, we will have no *Comitia* ſit for all this day. And [p] *Artemidorus* will give you a reaſon, why γαλῆ ſhould be ſo much taken notice of, in his [q] διεξόδῳ, or *running by*: becauſe (forſooth) it is ἰσόψηφος to δίκη, that is, (as I think) the letters in each word will ſignifie the ſame number, *viz.* 42. But if it be ſo, how came ſhe to be ſuch an enemy to δίκη, as to interrupt the courſe of *juſtice*? perhaps it was onely then, when they omitted that uſual ceremony, of leading her about the houſe for a *luſtration*, to purge it of *unlucky* things. Infinite many more ſorts of Divinations might I mention of this kind, but it will ſufficiently teſtifie what regard the *Grecians* had of ſuch Bables. If I tell you how that at *Thebes Apollo Spondius* himſelf had his *Altars*, and his propheſying by *Omens* μαντικὴν ἀπὸ κληδόνων. So likewiſe at *Smyrna* he had his κληδόνων ἱερὸν, *his Temple* for *Omens* too (ſays *Pauſanias*) where the faſhion was for him that came for an *Omen*, firſt to whiſper his queſtion in the *Idols* ears, and then preſently ſtopping his own, to go forth of the Temple, and the firſt voice heard after he came out muſt go for the Oracle. And ſo much of Divining by a conjecture by Art. One word of two of Lots, and I'll have done.

[n] *In* Ariſtoph. *Av.* Suidas.

[o] Lucian.

[p] *L.* 3.

[q] Plutarch. *de Philadel.* Ariſtoph. *in Eccleſ.*

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THis way of Divination is clean different from the former, becauſe in it (as *Cicero* ſays) *temeritas & caſus, non ratio & conſilium valet.* For though there might be *caſus* of the *things* in the former, yet there was skill withall in the *perſon* to give ſignification. It was *invented* by *Minerva:* onely *Jupiter* took away her *credit*, to make the better trading for *Apollo. Caſting*, or *Drawing* Lots, was either with ἀστραγάλοις, or *tali*, *caſt* into a Box: or with *teſſeræ* (γραμμαλεῖα [a] *Plutarch* calls them) little wooden Tables with *letters* upon them *drawn* out of a Pot; or *calculi* little *balls* of earth, with marks upon them for the names, ſometimes taken out of a Pot, and ſometimes thrown into a Well (whether to ſee which came up firſt, or how it was I cannot tell) *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of the wooden Tables, that they were uſed in the Temple of *Hercules* Βοηδρόμιος in *Achaia.* And the like (they ſay) were uſed by the [b] *Parliament of five hundred*, with the characters of the ten firſt letters upon them, to ſhew to which of the ten Courts every Judge was to go (together with the Image of a Rod the enſign of *Mercury*, the God of *Lots*) he that had the *Alpha*, went to that Court which had the ſign of *Alpha*, and they that had the reſt to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. *One* of theſe ways or *all* (which I know not) was ſo much uſed by the *Thriæ* (the *three Nymphs* reported to have been the Nurſes of *Apollo*) that at length the word *Thriæ* came to be uſed for *Sortes*, *Lots*, according to that,

Πολλοὶ θριοζόλοι παῦροι δέ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες.

Calculi were much uſed in *ancient* times in *judging of cauſes*, and in *wreſtling matches*, and the like: though (it ſeems) in *Cicero*'s time not ſo much, [c] *Quis enim magiſtratus, aut quis vir illuſtrior utitur ſortibus, cæteris verò in locis planè refrixerunt.* In their *wreſtling matches* I have read that they had a ſilver *Pot* called the κάδος, into which they put little *pellets* about

[a] *In* Fabio.

[b] *De iis ſupra.*

[c] *L.* 2. *Divin.*

about the bigneſs of a Bean, according to the number of the men, two with one mark; and thoſe that hapned to draw the *ſame* mark were to wreſtle together: or if there were an odd man, he that had the luck to meet with the odd pellet (whom they named ἔτεδρον) was to *come in at Kings* (as we ſay) or to wreſtle at laſt with him that had the maſtery. How they uſed them in *Judging of Cauſes*, has been ſhewed by another already. But that they were uſed alſo by perſons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of [d] *Ariſtophanes in Pace*. For by reaſon that one onely was to be put to death in one day, and ſometimes the judgment was reverſed, the Priſoners did caſt lots who was to dye firſt; and he that drew firſt, was commonly called by the name of Ἑρμῆς the *Mercury*. Thus in the Ships in a ſtorm, they uſed to caſt lots who ſhould be thrown over board for a κάθαρμα. Thus *Euſtathius* ſays, the lot fell to [*] *Iſmene*, juſt as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. And ſo in moſt of the Temples, that were reſorted unto for Oracles, there were οἱ κλῆροι, *Lots*, and a Table of purpoſe to *throw* for it; after the receiving of the anſwer, for ἐὰν βάλλοντός μου τὸ ὦ ἀναβῇ, ἀποτελεσθήσεται τὸ ὦ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐκ ἀποτελεσθήσεται (ſays the Σχ. upon [f] *Pindar*) *If I throw ſuch a caſt the prophecy will be fulfilled, If I do not, it will not.* Nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and the croſs ways they had their *Sortes viales* (εἰνοδίους συμβόλους *Æſchylus* calls them, and εἰνόδιος is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the *Romans*. For the party that would know his fortune, carried ſo many cuts about him, with ſeveral inſcriptions; and the next Boy he met with in the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind; it went for as good a Prophecy as the beſt, according to that of *Tibullus*, *Eleg.* 1.

Ille ſacras pueri ſortes ter ſuſtulit; illi
Retulit è triviis omnia certa puer.

Artemidorus in his *Proœmium* ſpeaks of περὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεων, *Diviners in the Market*. The original of this divination *Plutarch* in his Book *de Iſide, & Oſiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. For when *Typho* had put *Oſiris* in a Cheſt, and thrown

[d] *Pag.* 118.

[*] *L.* 7.

[f] Pind. *Od.* 4.

thrown him into the Sea, *Isis*, as he was wandring to and fro to seek him, hapned upon a company of Boys at play, and asking of them, they shewed him the place, ἐν τότε τὰ παιδάρια μαντικὴν ἔχειν δύναμιν οἴεσθαι Αἰγυπτίους καὶ μάλιστα τὸν τόπον. Καὶ δ' ὅτι παίζοντων ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ φθεγγομένων ὅπῃ ἂν τύχωσιν. Besides these ways already mentioned, they had another, by opening such a Poet in one or more places, and taking the first Verses they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called στιχομαντείαν, or ῥαψῳδομαντείαν. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we reade of; and *Virgilianæ*, which they say *Severus Alexander* made use of, when he met with this Verse of *Virgil*,

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the Christians themselves have not stickt to practise the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor.* Ἀνοίξειν ἔχρῃε δεῖν ἐν ψαλμείῳ θεῖλημα περὶ οἰκείων ἀπορειῶν. And thus *Hercules* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt counsel out of the New Testament, καὶ εὖρεν ὑπηρέτησε ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ πεφυκεμάτῃ, and to have been thereby perswaded to Winter in *Albania*. Sometimes they would make choice of divers fatidical Verses, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a Pot and draw for it. *Austin. l. 4. Confes. cap.* 3. makes mention of these Lotteries, *Si enim de Paganis Poetæ cujuspiam longè aliud canentis atque intendentis, cùm sortem quis consulit, mirabiliter consonus negotio sæpe versus exiret.* And this way they say that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. But thus much may suffice of κλῆροι, *sortes*, for by κλῆρος in the *singular* number, is many times meant the hint, or occasion given Diviners to speak what they did. ᵍ Τὸ σημεῖον τὸ διδόμενον τοῖς μαντευομένοις ἀφ' ἧς οἱ μάντεις ὀρμῶνται προφητεύειν περὶ τινων μελλόντων.

ᵍ Σχ. *in* Eurip. Hippol.

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates*, or μάντεις, as they did but little better than *feign* like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of Hearts and Livers, and tying of Laurel about their heads, as the Poet ʰ says of *Cassandra*, ⁱ χλωρᾷ κόμῃ περάνῳ δάφνας κοσμηθεῖσα. For why? —*venturi præscia laurus.* The Laurel they took to be a thing of special and sovereign virtue, both to set a

ʰ Eurip. *Iph. in A. v.* 757.
ⁱ *In Androm.*

man a-propheſying (and therefore *Euripides* calls it θεσπέσιον δάτυλον) and to preſerve him from any evil, and therefore very much uſed in Luſtrations, inſomuch that they would commonly have the ſtaves they carried in their hands, to be made of Laurel wood. They had their diet in the *Prytaneum* like *publick* perſons, χρησμολόγοι μεθέξουσι δὲ ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως, ſays the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*. There was one more *noted* Fraternity of them, called the μυσταῖς, εἶδός τι καὶ θεσπεσία μάντεων, ſays *Heſychius*. Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*; The eldeſt was of *Eleon* in *Bœotia*; the next of *Athens* (he that cured the *Lacedemonian* Women of their madneſs) and the youngeſt of *Caphua* in *Arcadia*, of *Locris* ſome men ſay, otherwiſe called Κύδας and Ἀλήτης. Anſwering to theſe three *Men*, the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* (in *Irene*) ſays there were three *Women* Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sibylla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythræa*, and *Sardiaca*. But the firſt (I believe) had moſt of the *Spirit of* [k] *Python*; *and brought her Maſter moſt gain by Southſaying.*

[k] Acts c. 16. v. 16.

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done ſo much ſo ill already, I muſt be forced to doe more yet, and excuſe one fault with another. For my deſire is to leave thee fully ſatisfied with my reaſons why I did it at all, and why I did it no better. The cords that drew *me to doe it (and* drawn *I was) were* three, *ſuch as twiſted together I could by no means break,* viz. *Firſt, The importunity of my Friend. Secondly, The neceſſity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Cuſtoms, for the underſtanding of Authours; and, Thirdly, The hopes which I had, by Employment (as by an* Iſſue) *to divert my humour of Melancholy another way. The cauſes why I did no* better, *are as many,* viz. *Firſt, Want of years and judgment, having done the moſt part of it in my* Tyrocinium, *(when I took*

I took more delight in these studies) as appears by the number of the Authours which I have cited. Secondly, Want of health. And, Thirdly, Want of time and leisure, being called away by occasions, that might not be neglected, and by Friends that could not be disobeyed. If yet I have given thee but little light, and my labour and oil be not all lost, I have as much as I desired my self, and thou hast no more than I owed thee.

Z. BOGAN.

Μισῶν ἔτ' ὄποῖς ὄδ' ἔχομ' ; Εἰρεσιώτης
Μηλέσας εἶχε δύω, Παλέσας δ' ὄγε. Σῶμα γὃ ἄλλ'
Ἄλλ' ἔδωκε ψυχῇ, εἴπερ ψυχὴ σύνελέχεια.
Ἦ σὺ, Πέπον, Πλήρωμα, τὸ πρὶν πήρωμα, τέλοὖξω.
Εὖγε, τὰ δ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μᾶλλον ἔτ' αἰεὶ
Μᾶλλον ἀποπαύδισον Σκυθικῇ κεκρυμμένα τέρᾳ.

Ἐκδόσει εἰνὶ νέα τί νέον ; Τάφ', Ὄρκοι, Ἔρωτες,
Θρέπτρα, Λεχοὶ, Ἱκέται, Μανίοσύνη, Πόλεμ'.

R. WARRE,

C. C. C.

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